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ABSTRACT

The Pathways to Identity Project is a longitudinal study of individual differences among black teenage males from low income families who were included in two cohorts of, originally, seventh and ninth grades students in a de facto segregated junior high school in Boston's black community. The study is based on lengthy open-ended interviews, and focuses on the interaction of family background variables, aspects of self concept and racial identity, relations with peers, and attitudes, aspirations, and experiences relevant to school, work, and future life; the data and findings reported are limited to those involving the aspects mentioned, sampled at one point in time and related to only one of the many potential outcome variables--staying in or dropping out of school. The ninth graders had significantly higher IQ scores; they were also found to be higher than seventh graders in playing hooky, hooky being not associated with dropping out. Among the findings were: (1) an association of demographic characteristics of the mother with aspects of masculine identification and cognitive style, while father-related characteristics were tied up with social status; (2) self concept seemed to be significantly related to variables indicative of lack of ability or desire to change; and, (3) first job choices are more likely to be related to aspirations rather than to "real" expectations. (Authors/RJ)

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Pathways to Identity:
Aspects of the Experience of Black Youth

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SUMMARY

The Pathways to Identity Project was designed as a longitudinal study of two cohorts of black teenage boys from poor families who were attending a (de facto) segregated junior high school in Boston. Each of the cohorts comprised the sons of the poorest families represented in the seventh and ninth grade classes of the junior high school. Each boy in the sample was either born in the urban northeast or had at least attended public school from kindergarten on in a large northeastern city, usually Boston.

The purpose of this project was to better describe and represent to social scientists and educational program developers the experiential worlds of these particular 61 black teenagers, and to trace over time their experience in family, in school, at work and with peers, concentrating particularly on individual differences within the sample, inasmuch as previous research on black adolescents from low-income families has, for the most part, been oriented toward comparison with other status and racial groups and, therefore, had neglected to adequately portray the diversity of this group and the aspirations and experience of black teenagers in their own terms (rather than in categories imposed on their experience and verbalizations by researchers).

This was particularly ironic since black children, especially teenagers, have been supposed to be, for several years, the primary foci of attempts at intervention and the improvement of educational and vocational services.

The basic method involved the use of extensive open-ended interview schedules, focusing on the individual's familial, racial, school and work experience, and concerned with the development of academic, vocational and social aspirations as well as the development of feelings of individual and racial identity. In addition to these interview schedules, a number of TAT-style pictures were utilized. Other projective methods and Wechsler Intelligence tests were administered to 80% of the sample.

The design of the Time 1 study was based on what we call the "focal child" method, which involved the intensive interviewing of black teenage boys, along with a coordinated series of concentric interviews with his "focal cluster"--persons he considered important to him. These usually consisted of parents or parent surrogates, the brother or sister to whom the "focal child" felt closest, his best friend, and the two teachers he either felt closest to or was having most trouble with.

The purpose of the Time 2 study, which involves only the "focal" sample is to better understand changes in behavior and attitudes which have occurred over a three year period, and to examine the correlates of the different "pathways" which different boys have chosen to follow in the attempt to clarify and realize aspirations. The present report will deal only with findings obtained from the focal interview at Time 1. Data from the Time 2 study is currently being analyzed and will be reported at a later date. The results of focal cluster interviewing, deriving from an immensely rich load of experience and data, cannot be analyzed unless further funds are vouchsafed us.

Demographic material was obtained after intensive screening interviews at the homes of all seventh or ninth graders who were judged to be potentially eligible for inclusion in the sample. The entire project was designed and executed by a bi-racial staff after consultation with members of the black educational community, and local university and public school educators. All interviews were voluntary and all respondents were treated not as subjects but as experts in their life experience, viewpoints and values; all were compensated for their time at an equitable and dignified level of remuneration.

A number of hypotheses were tested, both predictions and postdictions. Since the study was an exploratory study, we spent a great deal of time following out leads and hunches which could not have been formulated or adequately operationalized before we had experience with the sample, the range of responses obtained from particular questions, and before we had developed coding categories which were responsive to the data. We will first describe findings relevant to formally stated hypotheses and then sketch the other findings.

Eight hypotheses were formally advanced; only seven could be tested.

Hypothesis I: Given predominantly positive life experiences (including messages about himself from others), and perception of the opportunity system as open (to blacks), the adolescent boy will likely adopt an "expressive" or a "conformist" strategic style (style of coping and self-presentation) in both school and non-school situations. Given predominantly negative life experiences, messages about himself, and perception of the opportunity system as closed, the adolescent will be likely to adopt either a "rebellious" or a "withdrawing" strategic style. This prediction was not confirmed. However, a non-significant trend showed 80% of the "rebellious" and "withdrawn" focals to be on the low extreme of the trichotomized self-esteem scores (as opposed to approximately 52% of the "expressive" and "conformist" focals who fell on either extreme of the self-esteem scale).

Hypothesis II: "Expressive" and "rebellious" strategic styles will be associated with an orientation towards peers and street life, collective trouble and routes considered by authorities to be "deviant". (Since the assignments of focals to strategic styles were based on global judgments, we viewed the positive associations obtained as mainly corroborative and not as definitive tests of the hypothesis.) In every category of what we called "hot water" variables (expressive of the tendency of boys to engage in different kinds of activities which could get them into trouble with parental, educational and municipal authorities) the "conformist" and "withdrawn" FCs (focal children) were lower, as expected.

Another prediction included under Hypothesis II states that "conformist" and "withdrawn" strategic styles would be associated with school achievement and staying in school as opposed to dropping out. This prediction was supported.

Hypothesis III: The greater the congruence of characterizations of the adolescent boy by adult reference individuals with those made of him by contemporary individuals (including both peers and siblings), the more clear and stable (positive or negative) the adolescent's self-concept will be. Although this hypothesis proved extremely complex to operationalize, it also was supported.

Hypothesis IV: Boys with a strong sense of racial identity will be less likely to think of themselves and whites in terms of racial stereotypes; they will be more comfortable and more willing to move in the social and physical environment of the white world. The first part of the hypothesis--that a strong sense of racial identity would be associated with the tendency to eschew racial stereotypes when describing whites or blacks proved difficult to test since many of the generalizations which focals made about both blacks and whites seemed to be at once stereotypic and, at the same time, to reflect either socio-economic or subcultural realities.

The second part of the hypothesis--that "positive racial identity" would be associated with "willingness to move in the white world" was confirmed.

Hypothesis V: Parents' expression of general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their life roles (including occupational status), will better predict their sons' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations than will parents' present income or occupational status. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the intercorrelations between the FC's perception of father's job satisfaction, father's income and occupational variables related to FC's educational and occupational attitudes. This hypothesis was, in general, confirmed: father's job satisfaction was significantly related to FC's school expectations, his assessment of whether he could attain his ideal job, the SES level of his "negative"(most disliked) job choice, and two measures of his perception of the kind of job his father would like him to hold when he grows up. No such correlation was obtained with variables related to father's occupational status level or income, except for "FC's second job choice". (The distinction between findings obtained utilizing first and second job choices of the focals is explained in Chapters 4 and 11.)

Hypothesis VI: The availability of an adult male role model (whether present father, absent father, uncle, older brother, etc.) will better predict the adolescent boy's sense of personal and racial identity, school performance, and aspirations than will father-absence per se. This hypothesis was also generally confirmed. In no case were significant correlations obtained between father-absence and the criterion variables. On the other hand, "availability of male models" was positively related to both "self-esteem" and "knowledge of Negro groups and leaders". No significant correlations were obtained with "combined racial identity", dropping out or school aspirations. However, a stepwise discriminant analysis showed "availability of male models" to be the second most powerful of five variables which, in combination, successfully predicted 84% of those who had dropped out by June, 1969.

Hypothesis VII: An individual's sense of control over the environment is not necessarily a unitary trait in all persons, but may operate differentially in different areas of activity. Boys who have a high sense of agency or internal control in a given area (e.g., relations with girls, street life, school, hustling) will express higher expectations and aspirations in that area than in other coping areas. Consequently, if change occurs, it is more likely to occur in "high control" rather than "low control" areas. Insofar as the hypothesis refers to change data it could not properly be tested until Time 2 period. However, we were able to test the prediction that FCs who considered school work a major area of competence and control would tend to have higher educational expectations and aspirations and would stay in school longer than FCs who considered a particular kind of non-school work as embodying a major area of competence and who might be expected to have lower school aspirations, possibly higher work aspirations, and who might be expected to drop out sooner. There were no significant differences between the two groups in comparisons having to do with vocational or occupational aspirations or attitudes. However the prediction that FCs who localize competence in school work would tend to stay in school while those who localize their competence in work would drop out, was strikingly confirmed.

Differences Associated with Grade

The ninth graders in the study had significantly higher IQ scores as well as higher Verbal and Performance subscale scores. Seventh graders tend to come less frequently from extended families, to have lower school expectations, (though higher school aspirations), to fight more outside of school, to feel competence in more specific areas or activities than the ninth graders, to feel less "willing to move in the white world", and to know less about black culture. Ninth graders were found to be higher than seventh graders in playing hooky; hooky is not associated with dropping out.

Findings Associated with Intra-Class Demographic Differences

These findings will not be sketched in great detail but the major trends emerging from them seem to point to an association of demographic characteristics of the mother with aspects of masculine identification and cognitive style, whereas father-related characteristics seem associated with social status--educational and vocational achievements and aspirations, mobility strivings, and group, rather than individual, identity. It may also be very important to note that, with respect to IQ, father's educational level correlates positively with FC's Performance IQ but not with the Verbal, while mother's occupational level correlates positively with FC's Verbal IQ and not with the Performance IQ.

Effects Associated with Family Structure

Extended Family

FCs from families characterized as extended tend to have first job choices of lower SES level and lower perceived job preferences by mothers. We would hazard that the major effect of these correlations may be attributable to a group of father-absent, extended families of non-working mothers in which the mothers' usually-higher occupational aspirations for their sons are depressed due to increased pessimism or "realism" about the occupational situation (which may be communicated by the members of the extended family in the absence of the father). The data on extended families suggests that they may indeed perform an important supportive function for the black male in the development of his competence, individual identifications, and group identity: extended family is associated with higher self-esteem and higher combined racial identity.

Father-Absence and Relation with Father

A number of important findings were obtained with variables relating to father-absence and the nature of the son's relationship with the father, whether or not the father was in the household. To summarize, father-absence seems most powerfully related to strategic style, the sense of the individual as an agent who can change for the better in valued areas, and dropping out of school. Father-presence also seems to have overtones of benevolent authoritarianism since the association with staying in school, particularly for the group of "reactive/can't" focals (those who characterize themselves as passive interpersonally and who doubt that they can change for the better) is mediated by a striking relationship, not with FC's self-esteem per se, but with the congruence between FC's self-esteem and his relationship with his father. Finally, father-presence seems to contribute to the optimism and realism of FC's occupational aspirations, particularly in the correlation with FC's perception of the possibility of his realizing his ideal job choice and with the selection of occupations as ideal job choices.

On the other hand, there seem to be three main effects of FC's positive relationship with his father. The first is a facilitation of his identifications--with males in his family, with famous historical male models, and particularly with black heroes. The second comes as part of what we assume to be a reciprocal reaction with "supportiveness of family life" and seems to go a long way towards justifying the position that the sustenance FC receives from important reference figures must be understood as a gestalt in which positive experience with persons outside the home are embedded with positive relationships with members of his actual physical household. The third and most provocative aspect of these findings has to do with obtained relationships between "nature of relationship with father" and aspects of performance on IQ tests. This relationship cannot be adequately summarized, but must be examined in detail in order to be understood; it is treated in Chapters 8 and 10.

Relationship with Mother

For reasons explained in the report proper, "relationship with mother" did not receive the level of analysis which it deserved up to the present phase of analysis. Quality of FC's relationship with mother was found to be significantly related to: behavior mother most esteems in FC*, "family support", "quality of family life" and the "initiator-reactor" dimension (descriptive of the tendency of FC to describe himself as initiating interpersonal

* Whether she esteems behavior the son views as beneficial to himself or his mother, as opposed to her either not being satisfied with anything he does, or only with his avoidance of proscribed behavior.

relationships or responding to the initiatives of others).

Familial Variables

Two interrelated variables were used to reflect FC's perception of the atmosphere and supportiveness of his home. These were "quality of family life" and "family supportiveness". These variables seem most strongly related with parental relationships, selection of identification models and occupational variables. Individual findings indicate that masculine identifications are facilitated by positive familial experiences and should be considered in the context of a boy's relationship with important persons in or out of the house. Degree of family support is also associated with the choice of a famous historical model regardless of whether the model is white or black. This is in contrast to the situation obtaining for the "relationship with father" variable in which positive relationships with father are associated with the race as well as the selection of a famous historical model. Complex relationships were obtained between family relationship variables and occupational attitudes and aspirations. The most significant of these seem to indicate that the more likely a boy is to come from a family characterized as extremely stressful or non-supportive, the more likely his ideal job choices are to represent highly unlikely "fantasy" occupations (such as "millionaire", "President") rather than more attainable vocations.

In connection with the self-concept variables, two non-significant trends should be noted. Focals whose strategic styles are classified as "tough guy", "conformist", and "withdrawn" tend to come from families that are related as more stressful; these strategic styles seem to share the quality of being the least flexible in terms of the range of available behavior and in terms of the constrictions on FC's ability to use a variety of means to obtain his goals.

Findings Associated with Aspects of Self-Concept

"Self-esteem" seems to associate with two different and often inversely related clusters of variables. On the one hand, it was found to be significantly related to variables indicative of FC's lack of ability or desire to change; on the other hand, high self-esteem relates positively to two variables that have been linked with either "initiation" or the sense that FC can improve performance in salient areas of performance: feelings of physical vulnerability to accidents (as expressed in less frequent citations of "danger" as a reason for negative job choices) and more "willingness to move in the white world".

The "initiator-reactor" dimension, as we have said, refers to those FCs who characterize themselves as initiating interpersonal interactions while "reactor-initiator" refers to those FCs who portray themselves as waiting for other persons to act towards them before they act themselves. The picture which emerges from the "initiator-reactor" findings indicates that, with reference to interpersonal self-description, "initiation" is related in important ways to feelings about the possibilities for change and the methods by which these changes can come about, and with the individual's sense of being an effective agent in his social and physical environment. Initiators tend to feel that they can improve performance through practice, whereas reactors tend to feel that they cannot change to improve their performance in areas important to them because of a natural lack of talent. A variety of findings support the inference that the initiator-reactor dimension may be related to a sense of "control over the environment". One of the most compelling of these findings shows that initiators are less likely to cite "danger" as a reason for avoiding (usually higher status) jobs as are reactors. Another indirect support comes from a positive correlation between "initiation" and fighting, suggesting that some of the initiators feel that they have already learned to guard themselves from physical danger.

The most important relationships between the "initiator-reactor" dimension and other variables from other domains occur in the complex interactions around dropping out of school. These will be reported in another section of this summary.

Of the three subgroups which have emerged from the analysis of the initiator-reactor dimension, probably the reactive/can't change FCs are the most homogeneous: they tend to be father-present, to be middle children, to be somewhat conformist, more highly verbal and to stay in school somewhat longer than the other two groups. From the point of view of both school and home conduct they would seem more obedient and socialized, less troublesome to authority, and, possibly, less controversial because they are less likely to have strong positive identities as black young men. They seem more sanguine about possibilities of "success within the system". The initiators and reactors who say they can change seem to be more heterogeneous as subsamples. The reactors who say they can change are mainly distinguishable from the reactor/can't change group in school-related areas since they drop out more frequently, tend to have higher Performance IQ scores than Verbal, and have lower Verbal IQ scores than the other reactor group or the initiators.

Initiators are generally like each other in tending to think that they can change for the better, that their competence in some areas derives from practice and learning, and that their relative inferiority in areas they value is not a result of their basic, unchangeable character of behavior, but is due to inadequate learning and practice. They tend to be more analytical about people, more introspective and to distinguish more among others than reactors. They tend to be pessimistic about the "openness of the system"and possibilities of success within it, yet their pessimism does not seem to dampen their motivation and they do seem optimistic regarding more intimate areas of "control"--their own specific competencies and abilities to maximize factors which would increase their competencies. They also seem less vulnerable than reactors to fears of the malignity of the environment. The greater racial awareness and identification exhibited by the initiators seems compatible with their general sense that the opportunity structure is generally closed. We have only the most minimal cues as to the source of "initiation" in terms of family background: initiators tend to be father-absent, but to occupy roles either of much greater or of much less responsibility (as oldest or youngest children) in the fatherless family.

Findings Related to Race

There are very few relationships between demographic and familial variables and racial variables, although there is a significant positive association between father's occupational SES and racial militance and a few other findings summarized above. Regarding self-concept variables, FCs who score high on the "knowledge of Negro groups and leaders" variable tend to be high in self-esteem, and they tend to describe the causes of relatively poor performance in valued areas as due to lack of practice or inadequacy of learning rather than conditions over which they have no control. FCs who are higher in "knowledge of Negro groups and leaders" also tend to think they will do well in school, are less likely to fight out of school and will stay in school longer than those who are lower on the scale. They also feel more willing to move in the white world, and they are less likely to make what we have called "fantasy" ideal job choices rather than more attainable selections. There is a possibly crucial positive relationship with Wechsler Verbal IQ subscale scores which may point to the possibility that part of the knowledge of Negro groups and leaders is at least partially a function of verbal and reading abilities.

There were positive associations obtained between FC's preference for famous black models and the number of males available to him in his life space, and the quality of his relationship with his father whether the father is living in or out of the house. There seems to be an intimate relationship between the existence and proximity of males with whom FC has a positive relationship and his ability to identify with famous blacks. Unless FC has a positive relationship with an important male he is likely either to have no historical model with whom he identifies or to choose a white model. Other findings relevant to identification with models, suggest that FCs who have famous black models would tend to select those models from areas which mirror the paths of access to fame which have been historically open to the black man. (These paths have mainly been entertainment and athletics.) The reverse of this seems also true; those focals who identify with famous models characterized by "good works, science, politics/ charisma, power" tend to select white models. We doubt that the degree of this polarity will be maintained in Time 2.

The "militant racial identity" scale yielded relatively few important associations, probably due to the low level of exposure that the boys had to more militant ideology at the time of the first round of interviews. Not surprisingly, militant racial identity was associated with perception that the opportunity structure in the United States was relatively closed to black people. We've already cited the association of positive racial identity with degree of willingness to move in the white world.

In reference to self-concept variables, there was a significant relationship between racial identity and FC's judgment that he could change for the better in areas important to him, and a tendency for FCs to feel that this change could come about through practice, which is well within their control, rather than through the necessity of changing personal characteristics or external circumstances.

The findings regarding the "system open-closed" scale reflect FC's sense of the degree to which the social and economic opportunity structure of the United States is closed to black people. The findings regarding the "system open-closed" scale may be summarized as follows: FCs who see the opportunity structure as closed to blacks but who are high on the "combined" racial identity scale also express greater willingness to move in the white world; there is no such relationship for those who see the system as open. In general, initiators tend to more frequently see the system as closed than do reactors. As we said, the more militant FCs tend to see the system as closed. In addition, an important finding with reference to curriculum development is that the more an FC knows about black history and current affairs, the more likely he is to perceive the system as closed. (Similar associations have been found with the "knowledge of Negro groups and leaders" variable and the "grand total of Negro knowledge" scale.) In the final section of this report we stressed the fact that these last two findings suggest that even token attempts to acquaint black students with Afro-American history and with the facts of the contemporary racial and political scene in the United States will inevitably result in the intensification of the sense that the opportunity system is closed. In other words, these students will learn that equal opportunity does not exist, a sense which is in direct challenge to the prevailing (but eroding) myths of equal opportunity promulgated by public officials, the media, and public institutions. Consequently, we feel that educational programs should be designed which not only acquaint the black student with the past of his people, but also vigorously and constructively confront the facts about ongoing systemic deprivations which blacks face in the United States. Data was cited to indicate that the perception on the part of blacks that the opportunity structure is closed need not lower ambitions or motivation to achieve mobility in the black or white worlds. Positive black identity seems to act as a support for the black adolescent's strivings which can be most effective when he has a realistic appraisal of his chances and what is necessary to create new chances, and what his educational, occupational and social possibilities are and the means necessary to create more relevant options.

Findings Associated with School Variables

Findings relevant to the boys' school behavior and school experience and performance are so complex that it is difficult to summarize them here. Accordingly, we will try to sketch the most important findings and skim from others which may be of particular interest.

School, Demography and Family

Demographic and familial variables were generally not directly associated with staying in or leaving school, however there were some tendencies worth noting. It was found that earlier dropouts came from homes that were characterized as excessively stressful and in which the focal children did not seem to form any close relationship with adult males. Neither relationship with father nor father-absence were directly associated with dropping out. However proportionately fewer stay-ins had relationships with their fathers which were characterized as negative or neutral.

IQ Performance

No significant relationships were obtained between IQ level and dropping out, though no focal subjects with IQs of 110 or above dropped out, and FCs who fell in the lowest range tended to drop out at a proportionately greater rate. However these were nonsignificant trends and seemed to be cancelled out by variations in the middle ranges.

Grades

There was a general overall decline in grade point average for all focals over the three year period for which grades were obtained. These changes seemed to be concentrated on groups distinguishable on the basis of self-concept variables. While no substantial changes occurred for FCs who felt that they could not change and who attributed their lack of competence in important areas to natural deficits, the grades of the can/practice group (those who felt that they could change and that their relative inferiority in important areas of behavior was due to lack of practice) went consistently down over the three years and proportionately more subjects from this group dropped out.

School Defiance and Non-School Trouble

Contrary to the expectation of some theorists and researchers dropouts were not generally high in school defiance, although the earliest dropouts, those who dropped out following seventh grade, were rated significantly higher in school defiance. This lack of association of dropping out and what we called "hot water" variables was consistent with other component scores of the "hot water" cluster. In the present study trouble in school taken alone does not predict dropping out, but a relative lack of trouble both in and out of school seems to be associated with staying in school. In addition there was no indication that dropouts played hooky to any greater extent than did stay-ins, but there was a strong relationship between grade point average and degree of absenteeism. As might be expected, students who do well are absent least often.

School and Self-Concept

There is an important and significant relationship between the "can and can't change" dimension (reflecting FC's perception that he can improve in areas important to him where he feels his behavior has not been as competent as he desires) and dropping out of school to the effect that significantly more dropouts described themselves as though they could change while those who stayed in school were equally divided between those who felt they could and those who felt they could not improve performance in salient areas. Initiators tended to stay in school by a 3:2 ratio while there was a significant difference between the "reactor/ can't" group and the "reactor/ can change" group to the effect that more of the reactor/can't change group stayed in school while the reactors who felt they could change dropped out.*

For the initiators, father-absence does not interact with dropping out. Other important relationships were discovered which involve self-concept variables and FC's relationship with his father whether the father lives in or out of the house. For reactors who feel they cannot change, relationship with father and father-presence is strongly linked to self-esteem. In addition, staying in school is strongly tied to the congruity of the nature of the relationship with self-esteem. These results suggest that, for the subjects who are characterized by reactivity, a degree of passivity, and who seem to lack a sense of control over their lives, staying in school is at least in part determined by the presence of a father who may have the effect of asserting considerable control and influence over the life of his son, and the way his son feels about himself. It was paradoxical that many of the dropouts seemed to be low in self-esteem although they tended to be optimistic about themselves in the sense of feeling that they could change for the better. It is possible that the self-esteem scale primarily measures the FC's sense of satisfaction with his present life and that, therefore, those focals who feel they can change, most of whom also feel that change can come about through their own efforts, might be more aware of what is wrong with their lives or may have the sense that they could live their lives in a way such as to be more content with themselves. Leaving school, then, seemed to be related to this sense of dissatisfaction, at least for a major group of dropouts.

School and Race

We found no direct relationship between these racial identity scales and dropping out. Further, we found that "willingness to move in the white world" was not related to dropping out and that FC's judgment of the opportunity system as relatively open or closed to blacks was also unrelated to staying in or leaving school. We did find, however, that those FCs with low racial identity tended to stay in school if they saw the system as closed, and were more likely to drop out if they saw the system as open. There were trends through the data suggesting that, at least for some focals, staying in school is associated with unawareness of discriminatory barriers that is coupled with the lack of a strong positive self-definition as a black, and no great desire to actually explore or live in the white world instead. It is almost as if the school is in some ways a refuge for these individuals from that world which they see as antagonistic to them and do not feel the strength to confront. For those individuals who have a strong sense of racial identity, who see the system as "closed", and are willing to live in the white world, it may be that going to school is viewed as the necessary step in attaining goals in the white world with no resulting threat to their senses of racial identity. Also, we found that significantly more FCs who were rated as high in racial identity were either dropouts, failures, or had D averages in 1969, suggesting that high racial identity for some reason is incompatible with staying in school or doing very well by the standards of the school system. In corroberation with this finding, a strong trend was obtained which showed that, with one exception, all FCs with low racial identity perceived their teachers as having medium or high school expectations for them.

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* It was interesting to note that if the father were present, then reactors tend to stay in school or leave school according to whether or not they say they can or cannot change and if the father is absent, the effect is no longer significant.

Findings Associated with School and Occupational Variables

There were few important linkages between dropping out or school grades and occupational aspirations. However, among the group with the highest dropout rate, there was also the greatest concentration of FCs who showed a desire to avoid white collar and professional work, who feared upward mobility, or who were bored by office and "inside" work. A non-significant trend suggested that stay-ins were more likely than drop-outs to nominate ideal jobs that were equal in status to their first job choices.

The Prediction of Dropping out of School

A stepwise discriminant analysis was performed which isolated five variables which, taken in combination, permitted us to predict the probability of dropping out and staying in school with 84% accuracy. The variables which make up this configuration are listed here in terms of their relative predictive power: "can/can't change", the "composite self concept" variable (which is a combined measure providing a continuum of complexity of self-perception and sense of agency), number of males with whom FC reports a close relationship, total "hot water", and number of siblings.

The stepwise discriminant analysis also showed that dropouts were more likely than stay-ins to be involved in activities in and out of school which could get them into trouble; dropouts also tended to have more siblings and fewer relationships with adult males. Further, dropouts were more likely to feel that they could change themselves in desired ways, and tended to be rated higher in the combined measure of composite self-concept. There is one discrepancy with the results obtained from other analytic methods we used (correlations and contingency tables), in that other methods had not established an association between dropping out and the total hot water variable. It is important to note that the stepwise discriminant analysis provides a weighted combination of a series of variables whose statistical significance is based on the relative effect or power of other variables. Thus, a variable taken alone may not be significant, and only becomes powerful when other effects are removed.

School Expectations and Aspirations

There were few important associations between family and demographic variables and school expectations and aspirations. Most important was the finding that FCs who came from homes rated high in family support were significantly more positive in college orientation than FCs from low support homes. No significant relationships were found between grade point average and school expectations; in addition, school dropouts and students who were failing were not significantly more antipathetic to college than were those who stayed in school or who were doing well in school. While school performance was not related to school expectations, participation in physically aggressive, disruptive, or illegal activities was found to be negatively related to these expectations, and to college orientations.

School Expectations, Aspirations and Self-Concept

Significantly more of those FCs who said that they expected to go to college were classified as reactors than as initiators; no reactors said that they expected to drop out. Reactors not only expressed more motivation to finish high school but they also showed themselves to be more secure in their school expectations than did the initiators. All of the trends observed in this cluster of findings seemed to indicate that those subjects who are generally more positive about staying in school and going to college tend to describe themselves as passive in interpersonal relationships, and some feel that they have relatively little control over making desired changes in their lives. In addition, there is some evidence to show that subjects who are more active, initiating and have greater sense of agency, are less certain or positive about their educational aspirations and expectations.

School Expectations and Aspirations and Work

With regards to school expectations and aspirations, the most important distinction seems to be whether or not focals feel that they will attain a high school diploma: significantly more FCs who expected to graduate high school or to go to college indicated managerial or professional work as their second job choice. Though there was a general tendency for all FCs to want a job which was equal to or higher in status than their father's job, a significantly greater proportion of FCs with high school aspirations aspired to the same or higher status occupations than those held by their fathers.

Turning to the FC's perceptions of parents' and teachers' school expectations for them, we observed a trend indicating that those FCs who perceived the highest teacher expectations (i.e., going to college) were more likely to stay in school and those who felt their teachers had low expectations (namely that they would drop out before graduation) were in fact more likely to drop out. (This nonsignificant trend is most apparent in the extremes.) Considering FCs in terms of strategic style, the conformists perceived the highest teacher expectations, suggesting, as previous research has suggested, that conforming behavior is positively valued by the teacher and consequently conformists are rewarded with higher expectations. Regarding FC's perception of parents' school expectations for them, there was a tendency for FCs who did not play hooky to report that their parents had higher school expectations for them. Also, significantly more subjects who were low in participation in illegal activities and significantly more subjects low on the "total hot water scale" saw their parents as having either medium or high school expectations for them. It appears that getting into trouble was even more strongly related to FC's judgments of his parents' expectations than his teachers' expectations for him.

School Grades and "Hot Water"

"Hot water" related more powerfully to school performance than to dropping out. Students with 1967 grades of C or above were significantly lower in school defiance, while none of the FCs with failing or D grades that year were low in school defiance. A similar trend was found for 1969 grades. Most of the relevant contingency tables indicate inverse relationships between trouble in or out of school and school grades.

School Grades and Self-Concept

So far as strategic style is concerned, focals who are characterized as "withdrawn", "conformist", and "cool" have consistently higher grades than the "smart" and "tough" focals. Also, as we indicated earlier, there was in 1967 a trend for the "can change" FCs to have higher grades and for more of them to have dropped out by 1969.

School Grades and Racial Identity

It was found that significantly more FCs who were rated high on "combined racial identity" were either dropouts, failing, or had D grade point averages.

School Grades and Work

There was a trend, as shown in Table 10.61 for more FCs with higher grades to aspire to managerial and professional occupations. It is important to note that some FCs with the highest grades finally dropped out and that these students tended to feel that they could improve behavior in valued areas through their own efforts; many of these FCs chose occupations catagorized as crafts or skilled labor. Thus there is evidence that at least some of the above average students are not interested in higher SES jobs but preferred jobs in which they have perhaps a more direct involvement in the process of production and, perhaps, exercise more manipulative control. We might argue that those students who do well in school and aspire to non-professional jobs are not necessarily "underachievers" but that they have assessed their opportunities and have made their choices despite the fact that they might have a strong sense of agency, and/or relatively well developed black identity.

Some Findings Relating to Occupational Aspirations

On the basis of obtained findings, we have interpreted focal's first job choices more likely to be related to his aspirations than to his "real" expectations, while focal's second job choice was considered more likely to involve jobs FC felt were more likely to be attainable by him. It seemed that FCs' second job choices were reflective of the doubts they had about their ambitions and could represent "contingency plans" or aspirations to be sought when occupational dreams and desires seemed unlikely or hopeless. First job choice was not found to be associated with any father-related variables, nor with any variable associated with school performance, tenure, or aspirations. Second job choice, however, had important positive correlates with father's SES, and school expectations. In addition, the higher the SES of FC's second job choice, the more likely he is to aspire to college. Whereas FC's first job choice was not associated with either "family support" or "quality of family life" those focals who selected blue collar jobs as their second job choices tend to come from families rated as stressful while focals who chose white collar jobs or professions tended to come from families rated as "average" or "above average" in quality of family life. If the SES level of second job choice had seemed, in previous findings, to represent a limitation on occupational ambitions it could be that familial stress is one source of the limitation.

In terms of parental influence on occupational aspiration, mothers seemed to make as many concrete suggestions about the kinds of jobs they would like their sons to have as did fathers, but they were over-represented in suggesting jobs of the highest status occupational categories; there was a tendency for fathers to suggest skilled occupations to their sons more frequently than did the mothers. This might be interpreted as due to the relative distance separating the mother from the world of men's work, a distance which increases with the lack of the availability of older working males to the mother, particularly in the husbandless house. We found that, when there was an absence of adult working males in or around the house, mothers' job aspirations for FCs (as reported by FCs) tended to be higher than when the mothers were known to be in close contact with working males, either their husbands or males from the extended family. For a number of reasons, then, mothers were found to have higher job aspirations for their sons than were fathers.

We stated earlier that father-absent focals were less likely to feel that they could attain their ideal job choices than were father-present focals. The focals' optimism about reaching their ideal jobs did, however, rise in the case of focals whose fathers were absent, but who had more frequent contact with their absent fathers. The notion that the father and other available males contribute a note of "realism" (pessimism at times), to the son's vocational aspirations received support in a number of ways. For example, FCs who did not choose to identify with available male models tended more to select "fantasy" (i.e., far less attainable) job ideals than those who identified with available male models. However, we also found that the selection of "less realistic" ideal jobs was not solely a function of the absence of the father or the lack of availability of male models, but may come about regardless of how much contact FC has with his father, if the father does not provide the son with concrete suggestions about possible occupational futures.

Regarding the FC's perception of the possibility of achieving ideal jobs, focals who believe that they cannot achieve their ideal jobs also expect to drop out before they have achieved their academic goals. We predicted that FCs who felt that qualities they localized as internal to them (and under control by them) would cite "learning" or "practice" in accounting for their relative success in reaching their ideal jobs. These FCs also tended to attribute their relative lack of competence in other salient areas to lack of practice or ambivalent commitment. On the other hand, we predicted that FCs who attributed their potential attainment or non-attainment of their ideal jobs to external factors (luck, reality limitations, fate) tended to feel that they were not as competent as they would like to be in other areas because they lacked the natural talents or propensities, and that they would also tend to feel that a change in their basic nature would much more likely be necessary for them to achieve their goals (than would trying to work harder, learn and practice more). This prediction was confirmed: FCs who cite internal factors and behavior over which they felt they have some control as reasons why they might or might not get their ideal jobs, also tended to feel that they were responsible for and can alter the factors associated with their not performing up to their own standards in certain other areas of behavior. It was also found that focals who felt that they had a chance to attain their ideal jobs would cite factors within their control (e.g., practice) in support of their optimism, while focals who felt that they definitely could not attain their ideal jobs or who had strong doubts to that effect, tended to attribute their pessimism to factors they could not control (temperament, luck, fate, reality restrictions).

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF PROBLEM AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

Note on the Scope of this Report

The Pathways to Identity Project is a longitudinal study of individual differences among black teenage males from low income families who were included in two cohorts of, originally, seventh and ninth grade students in a de-facto segregated junior high school in Boston's black community. The study is based on lengthy, open-ended interviews and focusses on the interaction of family background variables, aspects of self-concept and racial identity, relations with peers, and attitudes, aspirations, and experiences relevant to school, work, and future life. Essential to the design of the project, as initially formulated, were interviews with reference individuals (parents, siblings, peers, teachers, parent-surrogates) and a second data collection which would yield information on changes within the boys over time. The demise of the Harvard Center for Research and Development on Educational Differences, which had originally approved the project, and shifts in funding priorities meant that the second stage of data collection had to be postponed until other sources of funding were found and that processing and analysis of interviews with reference figures had to be terminated. The second phase of data collection, made possible through a grant from the Ford Foundation, is now almost complete; data analysis will commence in early 1971. [The interviews with reference individuals, when considered in the light of the findings we shall present here--an invaluable and irreplaceable mine of human experience, cannot be continued or analyzed without additional support.] The data and findings reported herein will be limited to those involving the interactions of aspects of family background, self-concept, racial identity, and educational and occupational attitudes, sampled at one point in time and related to only one of many potential "outcome" variables, staying in or dropping out of school.

Originally, we had planned to use statistics mainly to illuminate trends observed through a more clinical-anthropological case-oriented approach. However, the pressure for such analysis, which derived both from the quantitative concerns of our professional reference figures and the need to more rigorously explore emergent relationships within the data, resulted in our spending the last two years immersed in distilling responses, coding, and analysis. It is felt that our work, in terms of obtained relationships and the development of potential "leads" for others, may be the stronger for such a shift in our aims and methods, and, therefore, we are conscious of a debt to our colleagues and those staff members of the Office of Education who helped sharpen our analysis. However, our original aim of attempting to portray and understand individual lives, of trying to represent in complex detail the searches and strivings of sixty-one black youths and those who are important to them, that aim cannot be dealt with here and remains to be pursued in a later document. Since we still view the project as being accountable to its original aims, we shall describe it as it was conceived, with the understanding that this report is, as we have said, limited to the analysis of focal interviews.

Statement of Problem

As the black adolescent male moves from childhood into adulthood in the United States, he is faced with forging an identity for himself within the context of today's urban "ghetto." The challenge he faces is doubly hazardous: not only must he cope with the typical emotional and social strains inherent in the transitional role of "adolescent," but also he must cope with the simultaneous marginality and centrality inherent in the very fact of his blackness, and the conflict between developing an identity as an individual and as a young black man in America.

That some black adolescents in similar economic and environmental circumstances successfully, even easily, meet this challenge--and that others do not--is clear. What is not clear is why and how some boys succeed in reaching their own goals where others fail. What are these boys like? What factors in their backgrounds, experiences, supports, disappointments characterize their lives before and during early adolescence?

Pathways Project has concentrated on the experience of black adolescent males as they enter the early years of adolescence--twelve to sixteen years of age. It is during this transitional period that they must begin seriously to think about school choice and performance, future occupation, and a developing personal and racial identity. During this time, other, "non-system" alternatives are also considered, sometimes taken, sometimes fallen into, such as, hustling, hanging out on the corner, "hooking," petty burglary, drugs, community organizing, black liberationist activities.

As each teen-ager--sharing the same race, economic status, age, community and school environments as other members of the two cohorts in the present study--moves through this transitional period, he follows certain routes, develops certain styles, makes certain choices. These choices combine to form what we call a "pathway" to his later adult role and identity. It is the purpose of the longitudinal study to ascertain the ways in which individual differences among black teenage boys are related to the various pathways they take.

1. What do urban, black, adolescent males from poor families perceive as possible pathways for them to follow?

2. To what extent does their perception of the attitudes of family, peers, and teachers influence (positively or negatively) aspects of identity and aspirations?

3. What specific background factors (such as parental education or occupation, father-absence, birth-order) are associated with specific pathways?

4. What specific aspects of personality (such as sense of effectiveness, self-esteem, etc.) are associated with specific aspirations, school performance, and racial identity?

5. What changes in themselves and in their environment do these boys perceive as necessary in order for them to realize their aspirations now and as adults?

The major justification of our choice of research problem depends on three value-laden assumptions: (1) that the maximal effectiveness of innovative educational programs depends upon their ability to expand the range of choices available to a child in order to encourage the fruition of individual talents and the realization of individual goals; (2) that a person's talents and goals cannot be understood without reference to his perception of the ways in which he and those with whom he identifies do now and can in the future fit into a complex social system (or, whether they in fact do now or can ever fit at all); and (3) that any comprehensive attempt to understand and broaden an individual's perceived spectrum of meaningful choices necessitates an intensive exploration into individual differences on a case study basis.

In the urgency of attempts to formulate, test, and provide justification for legislation to support programs aimed at improving the quality of education for children of "disadvantaged" groups, social scientists have tended mainly to rely on large sample surveys of students in specific grades. These range from intensive samplings in limited regions (for example, Los Angeles in Turner, 1964; ten randomly-selected New York state high schools in Rosenberg, 1965) to comprehensive national samples such as in Project Talent (Flanagan, 1964) and the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (Coleman, et al., 1966). It has been our strong sense, both for methodological and theoretical reasons, that we cannot properly understand and utilize the findings of such surveys without reference to thorough attempts to understand the development of attitudes and aspirations in black children and their families over time, and on their own terms. We feel that the quality of data obtained by such an approach will help the researcher and the program developer to identify and better understand some of the more complex aspects of personal and group identity for the contemporary urban, black, adolescent male.

The present exploration, an intensive longitudinal investigation of a small number of male students in one predominantly black junior high school in Boston, was designed as a complement to the kind of surveys which were cited above. There were two general goals to the research.

First, to seek relationships among background variables and changing aspects of self-concept, reference-individuals, group-identifications, educational and occupational achievements and aspirations in greater complexity, and with greater possibility of eliciting the boys' responses in their own concepts and terms, than a survey design would permit.

Second, to enable us to better visualize each member of an exceedingly heterogeneous group as an individual living in a specific milieu that is in part constituted by those differing evaluations and expectations of him which are held by persons most important to him.

There are many impressive autobiographies, novels, stories, and other sources of anecdotal material dealing with black adolescents, but very few systematic research reports on the northern, urban, black male and the subculture in which he lives, its internal and regional diversity and areas of continuity, the ways in which it is uniquely different from or similar to other sub-groups in our society, and, most important, the extent to which the problems of black people are basically problems of our society as a whole.

How much knowledge in depth do we have of the individual black children whom our educational programs must benefit? Very little. Although problems of educational and vocational integration have been a major national concern for over two decades, the number of studies devoted to the exploration of individual differences among black people of any age has been miniscule. It is highly ironic that, because of this fact, the social scientist's image of the black American is almost as crude and stereotypic as that of the racist, though for somewhat different reasons. Below are listed some of these reasons, as developed in our literature survey and in critiques by Pettigrew (1964b), and Dreger and Miller (1963 and 1968).

1. Most of the research findings forming the basis for current knowledge and theory in the behavioral sciences have been obtained in studies which utilized only white samples.

2. Most of the studies which have used black samples have been studies of black-white differences, studies which were not set up for the analysis of within-group differences.

3. The fact that, with few exceptions, objective personality and intelligence tests used in studies of racial differences have been standardized only on white groups has resulted in data biased towards a portrayal of black people as deviant or maladjusted.

4. Because of inadequate control of samples for social-class effects, the bulk of findings interpreted as evidence of racial difference may be questioned as actually being more adequately interpreted as effects of social class differences.

5. Even when the traditional demographic class distinctions have been made, results are apt to be misleading. The gap found between the "lower-class" black group and the next higher white group usually has been very great, particularly on standardized tests of intelligence or ability. This lack of overlap often gives false impressions of homogeneity of the black group clustered at the bottom of the test range. Research on "intelligence" has also been very vulnerable to deleterious effects of using white testers and group-administered tests.

6. Although there are many factors which suggest that aspects of the Negro lower-class and the white lower-class are not comparable, the few studies which have attempted to explore differences among Negroes have been concerned either with specific "Negro problems" such as effects of discrimination and segregated education or with broad differences in class, region, and sex.

To summarize, most research involving black samples has been directed to practical problems, not only lacking theoretical perspective, as Pettigrew has indicated, but lacking the basic descriptive analysis necessary to theorizing. The individuals we are currently most concerned with have never been systematically portrayed as individuals, although there is strong and ample reason to believe that--contrary to its image in the social scientific literature--the black "lower class" is very heterogeneous with respect to social stratification, the distribution of abilities and personality traits, level of formal (or informal) education, the content and structure of motives and goals, the patterns of group identification and values, factors we typically relate to endowment, achievement and adjustment via the standards of the modal white culture.

The major task of our research, then, is the further illumination of the current literature's most blurry and least well-articulated composite profiles, the silhouette of the northern, urban, black, teenage boy from lower socio-economic strata, with the aim of separating this profile into a series of portraits taken in depth and changing over time.

What must these "portraits in depth" be in order to fulfill the purposes of the present research? We are mainly concerned with tracing the development of the range of options perceived by a black, teenage boy as he endeavors to find meaningful and satisfying social and occupational roles. It is necessary not only to assess the content, clarity, and structure of his goals and values but to attempt to identify those influences in various areas of his life--home, school, work, social life, exposure to the general culture--which may have determined them. Most important, we feel, is the attempt to identify the factors which may have contributed to his perception sense that certain means were available to him for the realization of his aspirations and which contributed to his subjective judgment that particular pathways are sufficiently likely to lead to desired ends as to make them worth taking in spite of the attendant risks and the perceived consequences of failure.

The original methodological orientation of this study can be understood best when considered both as a case study of two cohorts of individuals and their reference sets and as a modification of approaches employed in anthropological studies of individuals in subcultures about which little is known. The present investigation was initiated with few preconceived ideas of the life styles, activity patterns, and prospects of the population from which our sample of adolescent boys and their reference individuals was selected. Since we did not believe that such an investigation could be adequately formulated without "opening up" the initial design for comment, criticism, and recommendations for change from members of Boston's black community, we circulated the research proposal to individuals within the community and incorporated suggestions and criticisms into the final design. Likewise, we did not believe the study could be adequately executed or analyzed without strategic inputs from black staff members in a position to make project policy. Thus the design and execution of the project was not concretized until most of the initial staff had joined the project. Two of the three project co-directors are black educators who have had experience doing research and civil rights work in the communities. All interviews were conducted by staff members of the same race and sex as the interviewees. All interviewers were either living in the general area from which the project families came or had worked there intensively. Just as we wanted the design to be influenced by educators within the community, we relied a great deal on comments and criticism from pilot respondents. In both pilot and focal interviews we encouraged respondents to discuss freely a wide range of experiences, some of which were elicited by our questions and some of which they themselves introduced. This approach has allowed us to identify the issues which are most salient for our respondents and to define the major variables in valid terms.

Each interview schedule was extensively reviewed and modified many times on the basis of the relevance of elicited materials to the purposes of the questions. Judgments as to both the clarity of items and the appropriateness of items--wording to the vernacular of the teen-ager--were made usually by surveying the members of the pilot sample themselves and asking them to suggest re-wording of items they found obscure, confusing, or "square." In one case, for example, our most expert interviewer, a man who can establish rapport very quickly with the toughest youth, in asking a particularly typical, bland, social scientific question, was told by the young respondent, "Man, you talk just like a white man." The question was properly modified.

Some Problems of Research Execution

In this section we will describe some aspects of establishing community contacts which are essential to the conduct of the research. Although this description is based on the limited history of the efforts of Pathways Project to develop and maintain relationships with organizations and persons primarily in Boston's Roxbury and South End, the issues raised should be relevant to those faced by other researchers involved with organizations, families, and individuals in urban American ghettos (whether such ghettos are inhabited predominantly by blacks or by other discriminated against and exploited minority groups).

There is a wealth of material to be found in studies of black and other urban ghettos suggestive of methods whereby researchers can gain acceptance in a community. However, the guidelines such works provide are becoming more restricted in potential application because of recent dramatic changes in community structure, organization, and values, which are to a large extent effects of the civil rights movement and the anti-poverty program. Many governmental and community organizations which hitherto might have aided researchers as bridges to members of lower income families are now regarded skeptically, often antagonistically. Persons who have until recently been regarded as community leaders may now be viewed as too "middle class" to properly and unambivalently represent and serve the needs of the larger community. Especially those who have resented being labelled as "lower class," "poor," "disadvantaged," "multi-problem," are now apt to regard non-members of the community, white or black, as unwanted urban missionaries. The university-based researcher (particularly in areas which are, like Boston, supersaturated with academics and other professionals attempting to investigate social problems) cannot escape being so stigmatized and therefore must be prepared to use varied and flexible means in order to gain entry to a community and to merit the cooperation of its citizens. The antipathy towards the researcher who is perceived as a patronizing do-gooder is often balanced by a common reaction by others who are perhaps more sophisticated in the ways of researchers: research more often yields a book to the credit and benefit of the researchers than any visible short or long-term positive consequences for those who serve as subjects, not even the benefit of feedback of findings.

Even independent of recent factors which can inhibit rapport with subjects--failures of the poverty program and some of its agencies and the turning of many younger blacks towards activism and separatism--we still would have to face two classical and universal situations: first, the reluctance (which has evolved historically for reasons of sheer survival) of members of dominated and exploited groups to speak frankly to anyone who represents institutions of the dominant culture, and, second, the natural reticence of the adolescent faced with "nosy" adults.

For the above reasons we have kept our social visibility in Roxbury at as low a level as possible without creating an aura of mystery. There are a great many action and service groups abroad in Roxbury which used to create accurate and positive public images, but we have tried to "play it cool," relying on person-to-person exchanges wherein one has an opportunity to clarify our goals and procedures responding directly to the concerns which they raise and on our work with the Boston Central Cities Educational Task Force. We have purposely restricted the access of news media to the project on the grounds that such exposure was premature and could create false images of intrusiveness or helpfulness which could impair and befuddle relationships with potential collaborators and within the community at large.

Research as Intervention in the Black Community

The foregoing discussion outlines some difficulties establishing a collaborative relationship with the focal families and, implicitly, pointed to a major and "built-in" problem of the study: the type of contact with family members--which we felt had to be established in order to yield data of the depth and complexity necessitated by our goals--definitely constitutes intervention in the lives of the subjects, intervention which could affect the variables we are studying longitudinally. The degree of intervention was somewhat limited by our policy of not undertaking ourselves "service" commitments, but it could not be eliminated entirely, nor did we wish it to be, since we could not morally justify abstaining from making a referral if a child needed aid which we knew was available. This is not a unique problem, of course. Though we as social scientists often wish to keep to "the facts themselves," any form of intensive data-gathering and/or participant observation in communities or organizations will always constitute intervention to some extent, if only in terms of its presumed relationship to and implications for the local authority structure. (The black community of Boston has been and is increasingly aware of the interventionist nature of research and has recently organized a kind of review board for the purpose of insuring maximal congruence between research efforts and community needs and to prevent the entrance into the community of projects which could have detrimental effects.)

Relationship with the Boston Schools

It had been our original expectation that this report would contain a long discursive section on our valiant and tortuous attempt to gain permission for the examination of public school records of potential subjects. However, we ultimately achieved a promising degree of collaboration with members of the board of superintendents as well as the administration and staff of schools we considered as potential research sites. The Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools surprised us be recommending we look at the school which had been most "problematic" and controversial in recent stormy history. The degree of acceptance and encouragement we have received from school officials was, we feel, in large measure due to the convincing demonstration on the part of Harvard's late Center for Research and Development on Educational Differences of a desire to enter into productive mutual relationships with the schools--not just to "get data on" the schools. Even though the Boston Public Schools had been "burned" by publicity, those school professionals we have been working with have been interested in the content of the study, receptive to the introduction of new materials, unintimidated by the "controversial" aspects of the study, and spontaneously helpful in the determination of sampling criteria. It was vitally important that the questions we asked teachers and students were meaningful to experienced educators as well as naive social scientists. Therefore both the school interview for pupils and the interview for teachers were developed and modified through conferences with several Boston school teachers who volunteered to consult with us, as well as with those who responded to the pilot interviews.

In order to encourage frank response to the school interview schedules and to diminish test-taking anxiety in our assessment of aspects of cognitive behavior, we did not request either interviewing space or permission to talk with students during school time. The decision to interview out of the school incidentally saved us from having to involve the schools in the complicated transfer of the responsibility of acting *in loco parentis* from the schools to us during school hours.

CHAPTER 2

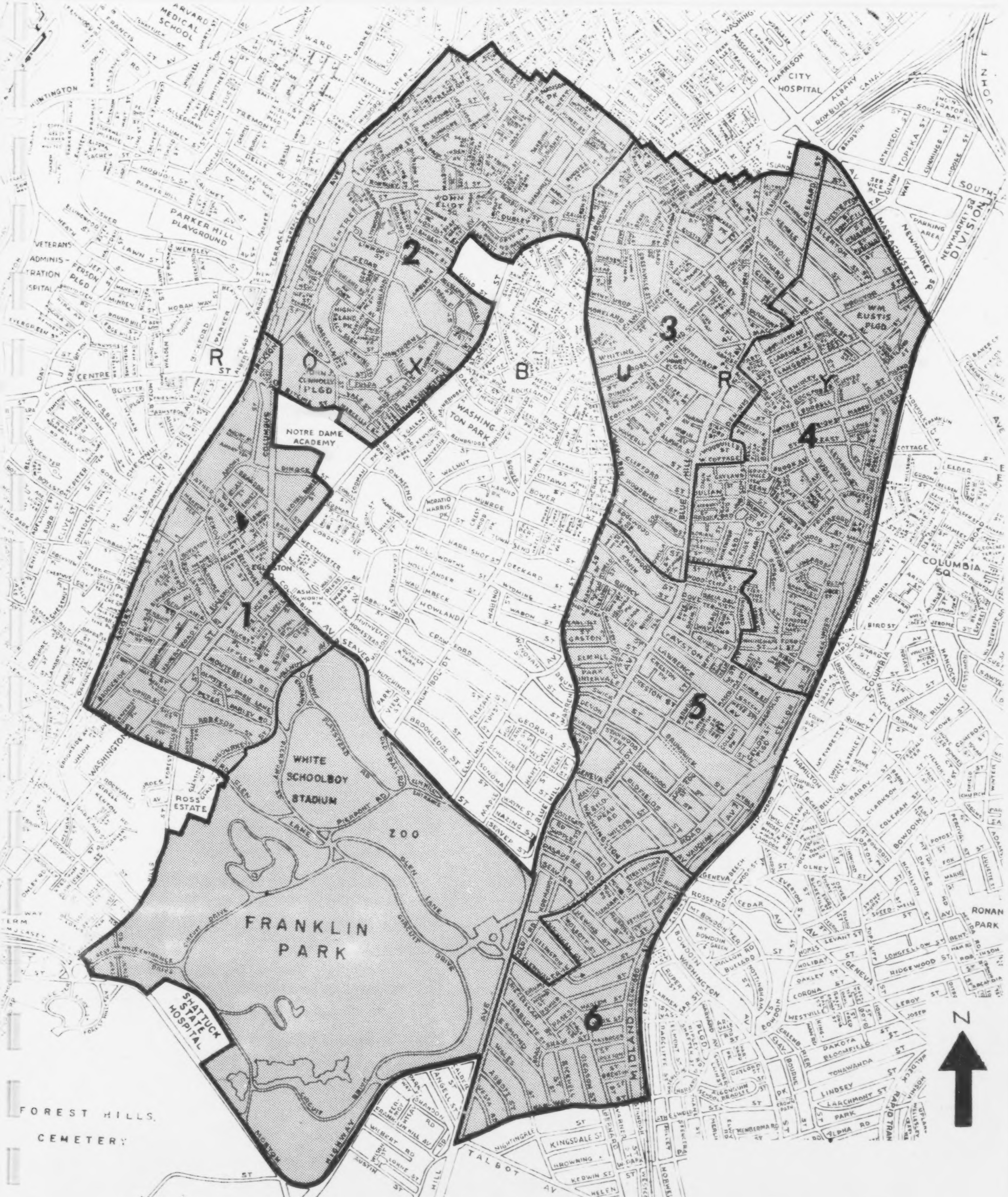
THE COMMUNITY AND THE SAMPLE

The Community: Demography and Dynamics

The phrase "the community" in the jargon of contemporary urbanologists is used to designate poorer urban areas with predominantly black populations. It is assumed (or hoped) that residents of these areas are a community in the sense of sharing common characteristics and common interests. Currently, the black population of Boston is characterized frequently as a "community" associated with a specific residential area--Roxbury and North Dorchester.

In 1965, 17 percent of Boston's total population of 616,326 was black. At that time 89 percent of that black population was living in Roxbury, North Dorchester, and the South End, the areas in which the subjects of this study reside. Since most of our subjects live in Roxbury and North Dorchester in the vicinity of the P. T. Campbell School, we shall present the major demographic characteristics of those areas. The addresses of most of our subjects are within Model Cities Subareas 4, 5, and 6 (see map).

In 1965, the black population of subarea 4 was 51 percent; subarea 5's black population was 92 percent; and subarea 6's was 71 percent. With regard to family type, subarea 4 had proportionately more old families without children of school age, while areas 5 and 6 typically had young families with pre-school and elementary school children. Estimates of the number of male-headed and female-headed households in these subareas are thought to be unreliable. A recent city-wide survey reported that 72 percent of heads of black households in Boston are male and 28 percent are female (Dobbin, et al., 1968). It was estimated that 86 percent of households in subarea 4 have incomes of $6,000 or less, while the income of 78 percent of the households in area 5 and 68 percent of those in area 6 are below that level. Subareas 4 and 5 include more welfare recipients than any other Model Cities Areas in Boston. Between 29 percent and 32 percent of the males in subareas 4, 5, and 6 are unemployed. Only 6 to 8 percent of the males in these subareas are in occupations classified as Professional-Technical and Manager-Proprietor while 53 to 55 percent are in non-managerial and non-professional positions or in "unclassifiable" occupations. Between 5 and 10 percent are retired. Between 3 and 7 percent of the females


R O X B U R Y
1
2
3
4
5
6
FRANKLIN PARK
WHITE SCHOOLBOY STADIUM
ZOO
NOTRE DAME ACADEMY
PARKER HILL PLAYGROUND
HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL
BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL
VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL
SHATTUCK STATE HOSPITAL
ROSS ESTATE
FOREST HILLS CEMETERY
FRANKLIN FIELD
BOSTON STATE HOSPITAL
COLUMBIA SQ
WM. EUSTIS PLGD
JOHN ELIOT SQ
N

MODEL CITY SUB-AREAS

TABLE 2.1

Distribution of Households by Sex of Head And by Number of Members

(Estimate February, 1970)

Male Head:

		subarea						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	sub total
Household Size	1	24.3%	33.5%	32.6%	23.8%	27.3%	21.4%	26.7%
	2	32.4	31.2	36.2	29.1	28.8	18.3	29.4
	3	14.6	10.8	11.3	14.1	15.1	12.9	13.3
	4	11.6	10.9	7.3	11.4	11.2	17.6	11.6
	5	7.8	5.5	4.4	7.3	7.3	13.2	7.6
	6+	9.3	8.1	8.2	14.3	10.3	16.6	11.4
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
		1848	1256	1571	2220	1745	1508	10148

Polk, 1969

TABLE 2.2

Distribution of Households by Sex of Head And by Number of Members

(Estimate February, 1970)

Female Head:

		subarea							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	sub total	male & female total
Household Size	1	60.6%	56.0%	59.9%	50.0%	53.7%	45.2%	54.6%	36.7%
	2	19.4	16.3	16.9	19.2	17.9	16.6	17.8	25.5
	3	10.0	12.3	8.8	9.6	11.7	15.9	11.0	12.5
	4	5.2	8.0	6.3	6.8	6.7	9.6	7.0	10.0
	5	1.7	3.6	3.7	5.2	5.0	5.1	4.1	6.4
	6+	3.1	3.8	4.4	9.2	5.0	7.6	5.5	9.4
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
		755	838	1047	1045	981	586	5252	15400

Polk, 1969

who head households in subareas 4, 5, and 6 are in Professional-Technical and Manager-Proprietor occupations. Twenty to 26 percent are in non-managerial and non-professional occupations or in "unclassifiable" occupations; between 46 and 59 percent are unemployed; and 8 to 24 percent are described as retired (Polk, 1969).

Approximately 80 percent of the families in subareas 4, 5, and 6 live in renter-occupied housing. A survey of condition of residential structures in those areas showed that only 30 to 35 percent are in "good condition." North Dorchester has become a black area during the past ten years. It has been noted (Dobbin, et al., 1968) that Dorchester geographically is the "the outer ring of Boston's 'slum' areas; vast urban renewal programs have accentuated population movement out of the poor areas of town." Relocation data show that more people moved from urban renewal areas into Dorchester than into any other section of Boston.

Socially and politically, the residents of Roxbury and North Dorchester do not appear to be a monolithic group. For several decades, for example, the concerns of the black bourgeoisie of Roxbury had been represented (even if not responded to) through the NAACP, Freedom House, and individual spokesmen, while Boston's black poor were totally unrepresented. During the 1960's in Boston, as elsewhere in the United States, some of the concerns of urban blacks who are poor were recognized at last. The socio-political climate changed from the promotion of establishment-oriented community action and racial integration in the early 1960's to one of separatist cultural and economic development by the end of the 1960's. During this decade the citizens of Boston elected a black man, Tom Atkins, to the City Council, Edward Brooke was elected to represent the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the U. S. Senate, and a new scope and vigor of organizations committed to representation of the needs of lower-income black citizens was felt.

Neighborhoods

With the exception of five youths, the subjects of this study live with their families in the Roxbury-North Dorchester area of Boston. An aerial view of the area gives one the impression that Roxbury-North Dorchester is a low-density residential area with a considerable amount of "open space" and an abundance of trees. A walk through the area, the "open space" in the shadows of those trees are often vacant lots littered with broken glass, rubbish, remnants of abandoned cars and discarded household furnishings. These littered lots serve as playgrounds for young children and improvised basketball courts for teen-age boys.

The area is largely residential; much of the housing is relatively old--built between 1890 and 1910. There are many detached frame duplexes; some single frame houses are occupied by a single family or have been "apartmentalized" and now accommodate several families. There are a few brick apartment buildings, usually only three or four stories high. There are two public housing projects in the area, one a rather extensive high-rise brick complex in the southwest section of Roxbury and the other, a small complex of three-story units, in North Dorchester. Public areas in both housing projects are poorly maintained. The condition of private housing in Roxbury-North Dorchester varies considerably. Within a single block there may be two or three attractive, well-maintained, recently painted houses and two or three extremely dilapidated houses with the condition of the other houses on the block ranging between these two extremes. There are occasional signs of urban renewal and rehabilitation efforts; vacant buildings in various stages of demolition and deterioration await renewal and new tenants. There is recently built housing in the Washington Park quarter of Roxbury, "transformed" by a federal urban renewal project. However, none of our subjects lives in Washington Park. Despite the aspect of recently built housing and the pockets of attractive, well-maintained houses, the over-all appearance of Roxbury-North Dorchester is that of a bleak, deteriorating, residential quarter, which many of its younger residents call "Slum-bury" or "The 'Bury." According to the ratings of our interviewers, approximately half of the families occupied "satisfactory" housing while the other families lived in housing classified mainly as "poor."

The main street of the area is Blue Hill Avenue. A six-block commercial stretch of Blue Hill Avenue contains a variety of stores, repair shops, several store-front service organizations, restaurants, beauty parlors, barber shops, a pool room, a church, a drugstore, a meat market, bars, a grocery store, real estate offices, a pre-school and the Roxbury Multi-Service Center. Since the "rebellion" of June 2, 1966, several store fronts have been boarded up; some white-owned stores are now out of business. The majority of the remaining shops now are black-owned.

Sample Size and Generalizability of Pathways Research

Before describing the basic research method, it seems appropriate to comment on the nature of the Pathways sample, and implications of case-study research such as this.

The universe from which the Pathways sample was drawn consists of all other groups of Northern Negro boys from low income families, who live and are being educated in the "ghetto areas" of other large cities. These might include boys of comparable age in Cleveland's Hough Area, Detroit's 12th Street, Pittsburgh's "Hill" area, West and North Philadelphia, Chicago's South Side, Washington's Northeast Section, or, as Rainwater's findings (1970) suggest, in the Pruitt-Igoe housing projects of St. Louis.

Pathways is an in-depth case study of one example of this universe: Roxbury youth. The population from which the sample was drawn consisted of all boys in the seventh and ninth grades of the P. T. Campbell School (since renamed the King School), during the fall of 1966, who met the following more specific criteria (as suggested by the nature of the universe described above):

1. Black adolescent males
2. Family income close to or below the nationally-defined "poverty level" (from $3,200 to less than $4,000, depending on number of children)
3. Residence in a Northern urban center from at least second grade on
4. Education in Northern schools from at least second grade on.

Findings from the Pathways study, then, should be generalizable to other groups of boys who meet these criteria, and are living in situations essentially the same in structure as those of the Roxbury case-study insofar as the findings are consequences of that structure. Clearly, if another situation differs in essential structure, or the sample does not meet all the above criteria, generalizations to them from Pathways findings could only be suggestive.

Although restricting our small number of focal subjects to one school does limit the generality of our findings, the longitudinal design and use of cohorts may be seen to be a gain in power, and hopefully, in potential depth of understanding and efficiency of staff effort for the following reasons:

(a) Many of the focal subjects have been selected by other focal subjects as important peers and are, therefore, also being interviewed on that basis.

(b) We will be able to obtain a more objective picture of the focal children since each boy will have been the focus of interviews with a [greater] number of teachers who will have had a chance to observe him over a one to three year period.

(c) Likewise, we will be able to form a more accurate picture of the teachers since many of them will have been mentioned by members of two different classes over the same time period.

As we have indicated, a major reason for our designing this research as a case study of a relatively small number of focal clusters was concern about the validity of responses obtained by survey or questionnaire techniques, particularly for our sample.

For example, welfare mothers and Negro adolescent boys have strong reasons (in terms of survival) for selective reporting and distortion of even demographic materials. This concern has been justified by the discrepancies obtained between demographic data derived from school records and answers to the same questions obtained through our screening interviews. Similarly, it has become apparent that focal subjects may change their response to a particular question as interviewing progresses and rapport increases: for instance, boys will frequently deny stealing, or other illegal activities, when the question is first introduced; later in another context, or with appropriate probing, description of such activities will emerge. Also, the first job choice preferences elicited, often, on probing, are replaced by jobs lower in SES (see Chapter 4).

Although the sample of focal persons in the Organizational Stress (Kahn, et al., 1964) study cited below was small (n=53), and the criteria for subject selection extremely complex, statistically significant results relevant to individual differences were obtained (which analysis showed to be reasonably resistant to explanation by the family of competing hypotheses delineated by Campbell and Stanley (1967).

Furthermore, there is a compelling (though never fashionable) statistical case which can be made in defense of results obtained utilizing small samples: after citing theoretical and experimental work by Neyman, Pearson, Berkson and Nunnally on the increasing ease of obtaining possibly meaningless statistical significance tests as sample size increases, Bakan concludes:

> The addition of observations to a sample is in the context of statistical inference, not the addition of particulars but the modification of what is particular in the inference model; the sample aggregate. In the context of statistical inference, it is

> not necessarily true that a large sample is better than a small sample. For...obtaining a significant result with a small sample suggests a larger deviation from null in the population, and may be considerably more meaningful. Thus, more particulars are better than fewer particulars in the making of an inductive inference; but not necessarily a larger sample. (Bakan, 1967, p. 22)

Finally, in the present design we feel that inference is aided by the _introduction of particulars through concentrating on individual differences_ in a sample which is relatively homogeneous demographically, and by _restricting generalizations to similar samples_. (See the argument on induction and individual differences in Bakan, 1967, pp. 19-24.)

The "Focal" Method

The effort to trace the probable influences on an adolescent's identifications, self-concept, values and aspirations, necessitates an examination of how others regard him, what they hope for and expect from him, and how they communicate their evaluations and expectations to him.

The "focal cluster" method--the intensive case study of a small number of reference sets--was first developed at the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan by the staff of the "Role Conflict and Ambiguity Project," in which the principal investigator participated and which was described in _Organizational Stress_ (Kahn, _et al_., 1964). It was elaborated upon for the present research in order to permit comparisons of various reactions a child elicits from people of different status and relationship to him (who are felt by him to be important influences on his behavior, either directly or indirectly). Such individuals we designate as "reference individuals," and are selected for interviewing on the basis of the child's description of them. Groups of reference individuals for individual teen-agers have been interchangeably referred to as "reference sets" and "focal clusters:" they include his parents or parent surrogates, the sibling he feels closest to, his best friend, and the two teachers with whom he is most involved, either positively or negatively. In this report the abbreviation "FC" is used to refer to members of the seventh and ninth grade samples of subjects. We have not, however, considered anyone a "reference individual" unless he or she has been so considered by the FC.

The interviews with reference individuals asked respondents to characterize their relationships to the FC and to evaluate his present performance in roles and activities with which they are functionally concerned. They were also asked about the ways they might wish him to change, their hopes and expectations about his future, and their perception of his ability to become what they felt he wants (and/or ought) to be. In addition we attempted to ascertain the values, attitudes, goals, and preferred modes of behavior of these reference individuals, along with illustrative biographical data.

The Pilot Phase

The initial phase of the research focussed on two major tasks:

1. A pilot study of fifty-two black, teenage boys was conducted with unstructured and open-ended interviews, in order to permit identification of issues most salient to boys living in the community to be studied, and to facilitate definition of major variables in terms relevant to them. Boys between twelve and eighteen years old were selected with the aid of various community organizations. The prime purpose of the pilot study was to aid in the construction of interview schedules and to provide a reservoir of responses on which preliminary coding systems could be based.

2. We also conducted a reference study of seventeen adult Negro males from the same community, men who were interviewed regarding their current and past feelings about school, work, racial problems, and their perceptions of social and vocational choices as they developed from childhood. The sample consisted predominantly of persons active in civil rights, community organizations, crime, and the ministry. (Although these are only four potential adult roles available for black teenagers growing up in the community, it was felt that interviews with fathers of focal boys in the main study would provide similar data for more conventional roles, such as blue and white collar worker, etc.). These interviews were conducted to provide material for construction of interview schedules, background on the community, and for later comparison with adult roles perceived as possible by focal subjects.

We will briefly sketch only the pilot study of the boys in this report.

Pilot Subject Selection

Initially, pilot interviewing was totally unstructured and so was subject selection. The black adolescent boys who were interviewed ranged in age from twelve to eighteen; some were encountered in doorways, some were members of a Neighborhood Youth Corps painting team who were renovating our Roxbury field office, others were personal acquaintances of the interviewers. A small number of boys who were members of the Cambridge Community Center were contacted with the aid of Mr. Rindge Jefferson.

Most of those interviewed (in the pilot study) after the first battery of interview schedules had been constructed came through contacts with organizations from two different neighborhoods.

Among the organizations through which we reached boys and their families are the South End Boys Club, and, in the Mission Hill area, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, a Catholic school, and Playroom 81, an educational and recreational facility located in a Boston public housing project. In all cases the approval and cooperation of a senior member of the organizations was obtained before we began contacting subjects. The formality of initial contacts with subjects varied from a letter to parents from the director of South End Boys Club describing the purposes of Pathways Project and requesting the cooperation of the parents and their sons to the word-of-mouth recruitment of subjects (focal children) at Playroon 81.

Rationale of Sample Selection

The research plan called for a final sample of urban, black adolescents from poor families who were in the process of seeking "satisfactory roles" for their future lives. In order to understand individual differences in perception and choice of these roles, it seemed necessary to find a sample of boys who shared a similar environmental background. In addition to our desire to maximize similarity of school experience, we decided to select a neighborhood school as a source of respondents in order to obtain a relatively unbiased sample. Samples drawn from particular community organizations would be biased in favor of personality traits or interest patterns associated with their memberships. Boys' Clubs, for example, may not attract alienated boys who disdain organized activities; church groups may tend to attract more middle class or dependent boys; social service agencies may deal mainly with families who show only particular patterns of chronic or acute problems. Samples drawn from informal groups such as street-corner gangs would have been similarly biased.

The decision to use seventh and ninth graders as subjects was based on three factors: (1) the age range of students in those grades covers a critical period in adolescent identity formation;

(2) the experience of seventh graders in the King School over a two-year period would provide an opportunity to assess the influences of a school's climate; and (3) the transition of ninth graders from junior high to high school would afford information about the effects of other school settings on the FC's perceived options.

Restricting the sample to boys was based on advice from consultants in the black community and on our awareness of the disparity in average educational level of Negro males and Negro females: since Negro women, on the whole, receive more formal school than Negro men, efforts toward reducing that discrepancy (and eventually perhaps reversing the trend) deserve priority. The decision to choose the least economically-advantaged boys was based on our recognition of the enormous need for information which contributes to improved education for the poor--whose system of options, resources, and opportunities seem most restricted in contemporary America.

A Note on Socio-economic Status

A number of serious problems are involved in the assessment of "lower class" social status particularly among Negroes. First, existing census tract data which is often utilized in establishing the modal class status of a particular neighborhood, is apt to be inappropriate in the neighborhoods served by our particular school. These neighborhoods have changed a great deal in the past few years, particularly due to urban renewal, the diminished reputation of neighborhood schools, and the exodus of many of the more middle-class residents, particularly whites, from the area. It is possible that this situation could limit the variance of family income levels in the neighborhoods while having little effect on the average family in the area, since some emigrants from the area will be leaving because they can afford to move to higher rent areas in the suburbs and some because they cannot afford the higher rents of housing developments. The available census tract data cannot accurately reflect such recent and continuing trends.

Secondly, there is a problem of validity of obtained questionnaire data, especially in reference to income and household possessions. An A.D.C. mother may have to work surreptitiously because of the inadequacy of welfare payments. She may also not be willing for herself or children to report possession of, for example, a telephone and a television set, since these items are regarded by welfare authorities as frivolities and illegitimate acquisitions. In situations like these we cannot expect accurate reporting by children or parents without first having established an atmosphere of trust with them from personal contact.

Third, occupations which may receive comparatively low status ratings in S.E.S. indices, e.g., barber or funeral home director, may have much higher prestige and may yield more income for Negroes than for whites. Likewise, due to discrimination we may find Negro men working at more than one job. Often a man's "secondary" job will be more important in determining his status within the community than his first, e.g., a full-time cab driver who is also a preacher in a store-front church gains his prestige in the community from the part-time role (which is where he, rather than an S.E.S. coder would localize his occupational identity).

Impressions from the pilot study have tended to bear out the expectation put forth in our original research proposal that the structure, causes, correlates, and implications of "lower-class" status are very different for blacks than for whites and that the lower income level of the black subculture is very heterogeneous with respect to social stratification, the distribution of abilities and personality traits, level of formal (or informal) education, the content and structure of motives and goals, the patterns of group identification and values, factors we typically relate to endowment, achievement and adjustment via the standards of the modal white culture.

For these and other reasons we decided not to rely on screening instruments or census data for social class level assessment, but to construct a sample on a case by case basis through a series of staff conferences which first considered demographic data available from the school records of all black seventh and ninth grade boys who were attending the Campbell School, then excluded families which are "obviously" middle class; then by inspecting actual addresses, conferring with a school nurse who has visited many homes and knew many families of potential focal subjects, and finally, through preliminary screening interviews with parents.

Screening of Sample

The general purposes of the study were announced in a letter to parents which preceded the screening interviews. The letter also invited their collaboration and presented the contractual terms of the arrangement, (i.e., willingness of all family members to participate over a three-year period, an equitable monetary compensation, plus carfare or baby-sitting expenses when indicated).

The "screening" interviews were conducted as a first step in the final study in order to ensure that participants in the Pathways Project did in fact meet our sampling criteria.

These interviews were designed to provide information on each family's residential history, income, and standard of living, and were held in the homes of the respondents. They presented an opportunity to observe and evaluate some physical aspects of their living conditions, and to check information given on school records.

We approached parents by explaining to them simply and frankly the aims of the research. The following points were usually touched on, though in no standard manner: there is a great need to develop new programs so that the schools can better help children to develop their talents so that they can get better jobs and become the sorts of persons they want to be. But no effective programs can be developed solely by researchers or teachers without their first finding out what the students think and want, how they see the schools as fitting into their present and future lives and what their families expect and want for them. Therefore, we (researchers) have to go to the students and their families, regarding them as the best judges of what changes are necessary and the only experts on what is important to them. We are asking them to work with us on this research and because we regard those to whom we talk as co-researchers (and also as people who have other commitments), we are paying all those who collaborate with us for their help and their time.

Frequently parents of focal children would ask "What's in it for us?" and "What are you going to do for my boy?" We usually would first admit frankly that the subjects themselves may not benefit directly from the results of the study but they can contribute information that is likely to help others in similar circumstances in the not too distant future. When the parent mentioned a specific problem or concern, we would try to explore the problem with the parent, explaining that we were not ourselves set up to help them in these ways--that we would probably do an inadequate job if we tried--but that we would try our best to help them locate and contact persons who could be of the most help to them and who would be either from the black community or who would be known to understand and respect its members. In some cases this involved putting a parent or child in touch with a community educational organization, an appropriate agency, a prospective employer, or a tutor.

At the same time we felt we could not justify the delay between our interviewing and any attempts to apply our findings without some more active participation in helping to realize the educational aims of the community. The nature of our main activist involvement will be sketched below in the section on the school and the community.

Of ninety-eight students who grew up in the North and whose families were interviewed, sixty-one were eligible for final inclusion in the sample. They ranged in age from eleven to seventeen years.

Family Demography

"Intactness" of Family

More than half of the FC's, thirty-two out of sixty-one, were from households which consisted of father, mother, and offspring. Of those without fathers, absence because of separation accounted for thirteen, and divorce for another seven. Three FC's reported that their fathers were deceased. The absence of three other fathers was accounted for in the statements of mothers who said that they "never married." Finally, we were unable to obtain clear understandings of the absence of three other fathers. Twenty-two FC's were from mother-headed households. Three boys reported that their mothers were deceased; two of these live with stepmothers. Three others said that they did not live with their mothers because their parents are separated.

Income

Although all families in the study seemed clearly to be poor, there was a wide range of income and economic situations. In order to take into account the number of people living off a given income, and fixed costs which we know apply to every family, we devised a simple formula for a per capita monthly income (pcmi): The total earnings of both parents per month was used as a base figure from which rent and heat were subtracted; then the net income was divided by the number of people living from it, including others in the house who may not happen to be members of the nuclear family. Rent and heat were chosen as fixed costs even though they vary considerably from family to family, since the size and quality of accomodations and rent per month are not always functionally related in the ghetto area.

The per capita monthly income presented us with a rather different picture of the "poverty level" family. For instance, one family consisting of the husband, wife, and one child, with both parents working, had a pcmi of $148 per month--after rent. Compare this to another family of five children, father-absent, whose mother receives ADC as her only income: $16.50 pcmi. Between these extremes lies a broad range of family situations.

The average (mean) weekly income reported is approximately $87.80 per family. When one considers that the majority of the families include three or more dependents, their per capita income is quite low. In Table 2.3 the distribution of family weekly income is given.

TABLE 2.3

Family Weekly Income

Income	Number of Families
$70 or less	12
71 - 85	13
86 - 100	10
101 - 115	6
116 - 130	10
131 or more	6
No clear data	4
Total	61

The largest single expenditure reported is usually for housing, whether it be a rental or owner-occupied housing. Only a few families reside in homes they own; the majority lives in privately owned housing with absentee landlords, except for three families who occupy public housing.

With regard to source of income, forty-one of the sixty-one families subsist on earned income, while AFDC provides partial support for six families and full support for another thirteen families. Data are unavailable for one family.

Parents' Education and Occupation

Data were gathered on the educational attainment of fifty-one of the fathers, thirteen of whom were high school graduates. Of these, two had attended, and two had completed college. Nineteen fathers had eight years or less of schooling, and another nineteen had attended high school but did not finish. Of the mothers, eighteen were high school graduates. Although four of them went on to college, none of the mothers is a college graduate. Twenty-nine mothers attended high school; twelve had eight years or less of schooling. We have no data on the educational attainment of two of the mothers.

The variety of occupational titles of fathers includes construction workers, janitors, a teacher, a television repairman, several types of laborers, etc. Among the twenty-four working mothers are a teacher's aide, a practical nurse, a few white collar workers, assembly line workers, and domestic workers. While conventional occupational categories are not wholly adequate for describing occupations held by parents of the focal subjects, a distribution of occupations by category is presented in Table 2.4.

TABLE 2.4

Occupations of Parents of Focals by Category*

Occupation	Fathers	Mothers
Laborer (Unskilled)	19	3
Service	8	8
Operative (Skilled)	10	6
Craftsman	9	2
Clerical	--	1
Salesman	2	3
Proprietor	1	--
Manager	--	--
Professional (Salaried)	1	1
Professional (Self-employed)	--	--
At Home	--	36
No Data	11	1
Total	61	61

*Note: The fathers whose occupations were not coded were invariably men who are either deceased or who have been out of contact with the family for several years.

An examination of the educational and occupational attainments of the parents of the Pathways FC's strikingly demonstrates the economic effects of racism and the arbitrariness of experiences for the black family in America. For example, of parents of seventh graders, two fathers received a sixth grade education or less: One is a semi-skilled worker in a candy factory, the other is a janitor. Two fathers received fourteen years of education: One is a post office employee (skilled manual) and one is a janitor. Five fathers received between seven and nine years of education: Three are skilled manual laborers and two are semi-skilled workers. Of those who received between ten and twelve years (including high school graduation), one is self-employed, one is retired from military service, three are skilled manual laborers, and the other four hold such unskilled jobs as changing tires, being a security guard, and driving a truck. The highest weekly wage was reported as between $105 and $120. The lowest, $50 per week. Although the focal children often verbalize the need for getting a good education so that one will get a good job (and salary), it would seem that their fathers' experiences in the labor market clearly do not confirm or reinforce this.

The hazards of generalizing to our sample of low-income black families, the usual sociological assumptions of a positive relationship between family income and educational attainment, are starkly shown in the following set of correlation co-efficients obtained for the combined sample of seventh and ninth grade families (Table 2.5; head of household's education and income utilized).

TABLE 2.5

Correlation Between Number of Grades Completed and Family Income*

Father-present families:	r = -.17
Father-absent families:	r = -.06
Combined sample:	r = -.08

*None of these correlations reaches the .05 level of significance.

The Students, the School, and the Community

The focal subjects of this study were attending the Patrick T. Campbell Junior High School (now the Martin Luther King, Jr., Middle School) at the time the sample was selected. The school building, constructed in 1937 in the architectural style of the school-as-fortress, contains thirty-six classrooms, an assembly hall, cafeteria, and a gymnasium. It is located on Lawrence Avenue in Dorchester, quite near the Roxbury-North Dorchester boundary. In the fall of 1967, the school's student enrollment was 721, of whom 27 were white. The instructional staff included forty-nine white teachers and only fifteen black teachers (Directory, HEW, 1969).

The school is situated only two blocks away from Blue Hill Avenue, the major commercial street in the area. Early in the 1960's several community action organizations found space for their operations in store-front buildings along Blue Hill Avenue. The Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), the Northern Student Movement, the American Friends Service Committee, and Operation Exodus had offices there. These and other organizations in the Roxbury-North Dorchester area have over the years generated a considerable amount of concern about housing conditions and employment opportunities for black people in the Boston area. More visible, however, have been their activities on behalf of black children. Their works are reflected in school busing programs, tutorial programs, the development of a community-control arrangement for two public schools and the creation of three independent schools.

The Patrick T. Campbell School was the focus of a considerable amount of dissatisfaction on the part of students, teachers, and parents from 1965 to 1968. An aspect of the dissatisfaction of some parents and students was expressed during the June, 1966, graduation exercise when Louise Day Hicks, the extremely conservative chairman of the Boston School Committee, chose to represent the School Committee at the Patrick T. Campbell School. Her presence there was challenged by the Roxbury minister and civil rights leader, Reverend Virgil Wood, who declared her presence an affront to the black community and demanded that Mrs. Hicks leave the graduation exercises. (For a complete account of the events, see Schrag, 1967.) Wood and others then organized a "Freedom Graduation" held a few days later in a local church. This incident preceeded our contact with the school. Other instances of consequence which transpired during our association with the students and teachers involved the formation of a community council to oversee the educational policy and practices of the school and approval of the motion to rename the school for Martin Luther King.

While there was a considerable amount of organization for improving the quality of education in the Campbell School as well as through ancillary educational services in the Roxbury-North Dorchester area, its effects were realized personally by only a few of the families of our focal subjects. Relatively few parents, for example, were aware of the availability of tutors or alternative educational arrangements for their children. They, like many other black families, were virtually untouched by the efforts to develop better educational experiences for their children.

During the winter of 1966-67, just as we were beginning to collect focal data through the school, several incidents of assault and turmoil occurred which threatened to alienate the black community still further from the public school system and to precipitate a hostile and punitive reaction among others. "Combat pay" was discussed for teachers in the ghetto. On the basis of Pathways unique positive contacts both with educational and action groups within the community and with the Boston School administrations, we were able to determine that there were persons "on both sides" willing to utilize the crisis as a means of beginning to work together on the problem of community involvement in the schools. After a year and a half of meetings, the group, then called the "Campbell Coalition" produced a proposal for a school-community research advisory board which would analyze and seek solutions to the problems of this particular "middle" school, eventually involving the feeder elementary schools in the process. This proposal became the model (as such often happens, for ill or for good) of a more comprehensive program involving two junior high schools (the King-Timilty proposal) and all of their feeder schools which was developed by a broad and active coalition of community and educational groups, with the full support of the relevant principals and the Board of Superintendents of the Boston Public Schools. In mid-May the Boston School Committee in an unprecedented action voted approval of a proposal for a substantial Title III program, now called the "Boston Central Cities Task Force," which was then approved by the Office of Education. Since then new programs have been introduced, a higher degree of community participation and school system accountability have ensued, and black teachers have, for the first time, been put into positions of power and responsibility in the Boston schools.

CHAPTER 3

PROCEDURES, VARIABLES, BACKGROUND LITERATURE

Data collection procedures, questionnaires and selected major variables utilized in the study will be outlined in this section. In addition, since many of the relationships we sought to examine (involving aspects of self-concept, racial identity, IQ, school performance and aspirations, occupational aspirations and "problematic behavior") have been linked by previous writers to family structure, we will review some of the literature on the effects of aspects of family structure on adolescent development for lower-income black urban families. This review embodies many of the reasons why we constructed particular family background variables (e.g., availability of male models, relationship with father in or out of house, frequency of contact with absent father, etc.) which, to our knowledge, have not been systematically explored in previous research.

Data Collection Procedure

In order to facilitate rapport and understanding, all research subjects were interviewed by same-sex, same-race interviewers.

Because we regarded those to whom we talked as co-researchers (and also as people who have other commitments), we paid all those who collaborated with us for their help and their time.

The Interviewing Situation

Interviews were tape-recorded in individual private sessions held at the respondent's convenience. Focal children, siblings, and peers were generally interviewed at the Pathways Roxbury office, after school hours. Fathers and mothers were often interviewed in their homes (in a private situation) or in the office. (The interviewer usually provided transportation). Teachers were interviewed in the Pathways Cambridge Office, or occasionally in their own homes. Guidance counselors have been interviewed in private sessions in the school. The length of interviewing sessions was determined by the respondent.

Respondents were told at the beginning of an interview that answers to all questions were optional and that whatever was recorded on tape would be held in strictest confidence, and that they could at any time depress the "pause" button if they wished. Only one subject, a teacher, has refused to be recorded, but allowed notes to be taken; the pause button has been used very rarely.

The interviews with focal children required from ten to twenty hours per subject, in sessions of approximately two to three hours each, over a two month period. All interview tapes were transcribed in their entirety.

All interviewers were required to use a set of interview schedules which they followed. However, subjects were encouraged to respond to any question until they were completely finished, and the interviewer was at liberty to ask extra questions he deemed relevant to the particular subject. He was expected to probe answers, and could drop questions which had been answered in the course of the interview. During the interviewing phase of the study, tapes from various interviewers were listened to periodically, to compare their style, technique, and general ability to elicit consistently comparable and complete data.

Without exception, all staff who interviewed had previous experience interviewing, and/or working with black teenagers. During the pilot stage, interviewers listened to each other's tapes, criticizing style as well as revising form and content of questions. A consulting psychologist also commented on each interviewer's tapes. Relative novices made initial contacts with their families in the presence of an experienced interviewer.

Interview Schedules and Other Instruments.

In keeping with the research goals - to understand and describe individual differences in the growth of educational and occupational aspirations, coping styles, and feelings of personal and group identity in young Negro boys - the interview schedules for focal subjects include questions regarding: personal health and history; family relationships; friends and non-school activities; school and work experiences and attitudes; self-concept; perceptions of personal strengths and limitations; racial awareness; and the physical environment (neighborhood, home, etc.).

WISC and WAIS tests also were examined, along with school records, for possible insights into cognitive functioning, and actual performance.

"Reference individuals" (whom we assume to influence focal subjects' responses to such questions) were interviewed regarding focal subjects' attitudes, perceptions, aspirations, and behavior in the same areas.

The schedules for family members were constructed to permit us to explore possible associations between variations in family structure (intactness of nuclear family; sibling order; role distribution, etc.) and aspects of self-concept and aspirations. [However, in spite of the fact that we did make concrete predictions (Chapter 4) we simultaneously felt neither current theory or knowledge is sufficient to enable us to predict with confidence the direction and qualities of most of these associations. Many more predictions and "post-dictions" were made in the course of data analysis, once we had begun to develop a feeling for the data; these are reported in later chapters.]

Focal Subject Schedules:

1. General Information Sheet. Designed to gain bibliographic information and vital statistics necessary to establish points of reference for subsequent data. Includes residential history, accidents and illness, and composition of family.

2. Present Family. Developed to gather information that will characterize relationships within the family, describe the family constellation and possible models, and describe the nature of the interaction within that group. It also seeks a description of how future family life is envisaged.

3. Peer Group. An effort to explore social relationships and group identifications; to obtain a description of associates and activities outside of immediate family group; and to gain an understanding of the reference set used in determining the focal subject's identity.

4. School. This interview asks for experiences and feelings related to school; how teachers are perceived, their expectations of him, the way they react to him and others; how teachers provide leadership and guidance, and present subject matter; a description of his academic experiences and achievements; extent of reading; perception how he sees himself involved in the total educational process. The subject is also asked to describe his "dream school," his favorite and least favorite teachers and subjects.

5. Work Schedule. Constructed to obtain subject's occupational experiences and aspirations: how he arrived at them, who influenced them. Also to gather information related to parental experiences and expectations; subject's perceived obstacles and perceived avenues of attaining goals.

6. Self-Concept Schedule. Designed to gain an understanding of the child's sense of competence, personal worth, power to change; how others may view him; his fantasies; influences from models; and possible conflicting pressures on him. Includes "spy" question (how would a double have to act?) and "brainwash" question (what about self would subject most want to preserve?).

7. Racial Awareness Schedule. Traces out the complex relationships between aspects of the self-concept and the quality and extent of his awareness of himself as negro. Designed to obtain information about actual experiences, accompanying feelings, and the manner in which he handles racial contacts and conflicts. Assesses his knowledge of Negro leaders, organizations, and historical figures and elicits indication of his reference person and groups.

8. Neighborhood, House and Travel. Designed to gain an understanding of the subject's concept and evaluation of his physical surroundings; his reaction to them (whether he feels safe, has a sense of belonging, pride); where he goes beyond his neighborhood and for what purpose; where he has travelled or would like to travel; "dream house".

9. Maps: In open-ended interviews following the Neighborhood, House and Travel interview, we ask each subject to describe his neighborhood. We hope to learn something of the psychological ecology of the focal subjects, such as where they "hang out," what areas in their neighborhood are restricted, what is regarded as outside the neighborhood, and how schools and neighborhoods are related geographically. The subject is given a base map of Boston on which he indicates these areas with a variety of colored markers. Subjects are then asked to draw maps of their residences and where they go to school. Finally, we attempt to obtain some information about household ecology by asking the subject where he finds privacy at home, what the most active room in the house is etc. The subject is also asked about the kind of house he would like to live in when he grows up, where he would like it to be, and with whom he would like to live.

10. Picture Projective Devices. A supplementary technique to encourage freer discussion and to explore topics about which subjects seem reticent. Responses to pictures, which protray neighborhood, work, family and social-peer group situations, are expected to reveal attitudes, values, and expectations which are not as clearly evident in responses to direct interview questions. Responses to these pictures have not yet been analyzed; codes are currently being developed.

Indices of Cognitive Behavior:

1. For 48 of the focals either the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale or the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children were given along with the Draw-A-Person, Cole Animal Test and The Three Wishes technique.

Interview Schedules for Reference Individuals:

1. Parent Interview. A comprehensive interview covering all aspects of the focal subject's environment as seen through the eyes of the parents or parent surrogate. Questions in this section parallel the areas and questions asked of the focal subject. An additional section examines the personal and marital history of the parents.

2. Sibling Questionnaire. A schedule to elicit from siblings a characterization of the focal child, with specific mention of his distinguishing traits, expressions of attitudes toward the focal child, descriptions of selected interactions with him, relative assessments of his abilities and potentials, and impressions of how others see him and relate to him.

3. Interview for Teachers. An interview to gain information and impressions of the focal child from the perspective of his teachers, as to his academic promise, school attitudes, behavior in school and their expectations of him. Teachers are also asked about their own personal backgrounds, attitudes toward teaching, hopes for the future and their "dream school."

4. Interview for Peers. Constructed to elicit a description of the focal child as seen by two significant contemporaries of his choosing; those that may have important influences on his behavior. Questions parallel to those in the focal interview are asked.

Description of Major Variables

Selected Family Variables:

1. Availability of male model: This code was derived from a series of questions in the family interview; it consists of a simple count of adult males that FC mentions as playing some role in his life and who could or might act as role models for him.

2. Number of close males: This variable refers to the number of adult males that FC clearly feels close to, and with whom he has some sort of viable relationship.

3. Relationship with father: The nature of FC's relationship with his father (whether or not the father is absent from or present in the home), was ascertained through coder's independent judgements of all of the references the FC made about his father and the ways in which his father related to him. Particular attention was paid to the types of activities FC engaged in with his father, his father's reactions to and involvement with his son's interests, school performance and goals, as well as the general tone that the FC used in describing his father and the varied contacts he has with him. The final code summarized this information into a measure which described the relationship as either non-existent, neutral or ambivalent, negative or positive.

4. Relationship with mother: The nature of FC's relationship with his mother was devised in the same way as relationship with father;

it is a global code developed from the entire family section with particular attention paid to items which deal with FC's attitudes towards and feelings about his mother. The final coding categories are the same as those used for the relationship with father variable.

5. Family Support: This is a scale made up of a simple average of a number of separately coded items designed to measure the degree and nature of emotional support and guidance that the FC judged to come from members of his family. (Non-family members were occasionally considered eligible for inclusion in this measure if they lived with FC and were talked about as though they were family members). Some of the items included in this scale are: sketch of mother, sketch of father, which of FC's behaviors FC's mother (and father) likes most and how approval is shown, how FC is treated when he is sick, what happens when FC brings home a good or bad report card, who in the family understands FC the best, which family member FC would most like to be similar to, who loved FC most when he was young, how was love shown then, how love is shown now, who FC loves the most in his family, why FC loves this family member, and how FC gets along with his siblings.

6. Quality of family life: This is a measure which attempts to tap the general atmosphere and dynamic of FC's home life. The code was derived from the coder's global judgments of the entire family section, and ultimately classifies each family as excessively stressful, average, or above average in quality (in relation to other families in the sample).

Self Concept Variables:

The spy question

The "spy" question, given to all focal subjects and their peers, requires the subject to characterize his overt behavior as he believes it appears to important figures in his environment. In addition to specifying acts and traits he feels are characteristic, he identifies the significant persons in his environment by necessarily including them in his narration. The spy question reads:

> "Let's pretend you wanted to disappear from the scene for a while, but you had to get someone to take your place so that no one would know you were gone. You have to teach him, like with a spy, how to act like you so that no one would know the difference. How would you tell him to act around home? With your friends? At school? (etc.).

Responses to this question can be coded on a variety of dimensions.

1. Initiator-reactor: Does the focal child speak as though he initiates behavior, as though he has control over his actions, or is his behavior merely reactive to that of others?

2. Habits - vs - traits (variability of behavior and roles): Does FC describe himself as behaving in a series of discrete, unrelated acts, or does he talk about his typical actions as habits or tendencies that imply a more "organized" sense of self? Does he describe himself in a similar manner regardless of the situation, or does his conduct vary with the changing demands of each situation? If there is some role variability, are these roles conflicting or internally consistent?

3. Introspectiveness: Does FC merely report specific behaviors, or does he formulate principles of behavior?

4. Distinctions among others: Does he tend to describe all reference figures as behaving and thinking similarly or does he describe them as individuals, each with her or his unique characteristics?

Primary (global) Analytic Categories of the "spy question"

The global categories we developed represented a continuum ranging from a response which shows an awareness of sequences of behavior, role variability which preserves the self-integrity of the subject, initiative activity, and propositionality. Significant properties of each response category are as follows:

> Category I: Subject is reactive to the interviewer in offering samples of specific acts (which are not generalized even into habits); there is no reference to feelings, personality traits, motives or characterizations; there is no evidence of role variability in different situations with different people; and there is no indicator of insight into human relationships.
>
> Category II: Although the self is still portrayed as reactive the response is more spontaneous and detailed; the subject describes habits rather than discrete acts, although these habits are not evaluated; there is some characterization of traits (i.e., "I am lazy") but no sign of introspectiveness or insight.
>
> Category III: The subject describes initiative rather than reactive behavior; there is more propositionality ("if...then...) and some inclusion of the motivation leading to certain behaviors; the subject exhibits role variability (i.e.,

doing different things with different figures in the environment); there is more sense of a uniqueness of self and a concommitant ability to differentiate oneself from one's peer group; there is an increased characterization of personality traits.

Category IV: The subject's behavior is propositional; there is a portrayal of the subject's reasoning process; the subject's role variability is based on his perception of other people's thoughts (the subject imputes rationale to others for the first time); resistance to peer pressure increases (the subject's inner direction is evident).

Category V: The subject initiates behavior; communicates little sense of redundancy; he communicates a sense of uniqueness (irreplaceability) of self; role variability is great with an end to preserving one's self-integrity ("standing up for one's principles"); the subject is aware of his differential impact on others, anticipates other's reactions and arrives at manipulating them to his own end.

Interpretations of Sample Responses

Although a more detailed analysis of findings related to the "spy question" will be presented in Chapter 8, below are listed sample excerpts from each of the five categories:

> Category I response: "Um, watch TV...I mean gets up early in the morning, evertime say I want to go to school and ah...I want to go outside and play; I don't want no rice, um, that's all." (Int.: How would he act around your friends?) "Say, 'Hey!' That's what I say all the time, I say 'Hey!' when I talk to my friends, I say 'Hey!'" (Int.: How would he act?) "I don't know." (What about in school?) "Be quiet and just sit in your seat, don't fuss around."
>
> The first FC offers no more than a few concrete acts, food preferences, and a uniform greeting for his friends as a self-characterization. In this first category, conformity to one's peer group is predominant; school, when described, is nothing more than seven undifferentiated hours.
>
> Category II response: "I don't know...I would tell him that my sister's name is Jessie, my brother's name is Michael, and I'd tell him all of my aunts and uncles and grandmother, and then I'd tell him to call my mother "Ma". Tell him which clothes to put on and what size shoe I wear...

and then probably the time to go to school. I go to the P. T. Campbell, and my teacher's name is Miss Wilson." (What else around the house?) "When it's his turn to dry the dishes, empty the garbage, and where to put the dishes... who are my friends. I don't know what I would tell him. Maybe I'd just give him a movie screen or something, and he'll just watch me the way I talk and everything." (What about friends?) "Their names and where they live...the girls I know...What they like and what they don't like, and who is their mother and what's their mother's name..."

The second FC organizes the discrete acts (mentioned by subject one) into habits, and gives some sense of his day's activities. More people enter into his account but they remain as physical identities, distinguished only by food preferences, demands they make on the subject, distinguishable place of residence and mother's name. There is no quality to his personal interactions with others, just as there is no mention of feelings or motives.

Category III response: (toward brother): "Mean. Just plain mean. When he asks you something, yell at him." (Toward father?) "Don't say nothing to him, 'cause he don't say nothing to you." (Toward mother?) "When she asks you a question, answer her. Do stuff for her." (Toward sisters?): "Always play with them...And buy them candy and things." (With your pet dogs?) "He's not gonna be able to play with those dogs,'cause they'll know it's not me." (With friends?) "He doesn't want to do, sometimes, what they want to do, unless he wants to do it. He's not supposed to be scared of them, that's all." (Toward teachers?) "I forgot to tell him that he knows which ones to like and which ones not to like..."

The third subject offers different ways of responding to different figures. There is a tone of inner direction in his request that the spy resist peer pressure. The subject offers reasons for his behavior (i.e., ignore your father because he consistently ignores you.) His varied actions toward different family members suggest a greater range in feelings than previous subjects but he fails to articulate them.

Category IV response: "Well, I'd tell him to always make jokes and always be happy and people like for you to do things, like go to the store, then give them a half sad face and ask what they want and go on. When you come back, you ask for money, providing that's in your family, of course." (With friends?) "I'd tell him to don't go along with everything they want to do like the majority. If they want to do something and they tell you to come along, like one of them want to do something and you are neutral, just, er...make a decision on which you want to do the most." (With girlfriend if there's a fight?) "That depends on who's in the right. Because if she's in the right, er... you just make up and if you're in the right, er...then talk it out with her."

This fourth subject reveals the greatest degree, thus far, of insight into self and others. He describes his sad smile as a ploy for charging for the errand; he imputes rationale to his girlfriend, anticipating that her anger may not be arbitrary; he describes how he would arbitrate between friends.

Category V response: (abridged): "...Well, I tell you one thing he wouldn't be able to do like me because I keep it always in my pocket, the phone numbers I have. If he called, if I had a duplicate phone book and I give it to him, and yet and still I'd know that he wouldn't make out all right, I could tell, probably call up and say the wrong thing... Well, I'd have to find out how he acts, you know, like when I go to a party, when I first go, all the time when I go I'll first sit down for a while, you know, see who is there and look around...on Friday night and I meet a new girl, I'll make sure she ain't at the party Saturday night and then I'll go and fool around with a different girl..."

Subject describes incident in school during which he was sent to the office for discipline for something which he denies having done. When the Negro assistant principal urges him to comply with the white teacher because the "whites still run the show", the subject describes how he continues to defy this arbitrary authority because his self-integrity would suffer. (How act in school?) "Well, when I get in certain classes I sit up there and do my work, like Miss B. meets my English teacher and they run into each other down in lunch..." (Subject continues with an imaginary conversation between two of his teachers with diametrically opposed impressions of him based on his different behavior in their classes.)

The fifth subject underscores his sense of uniqueness: no one could mimic his behavior adequately because his flair is undeniably his own. He understands that he is perceived differently by different people; he understands, as well, that he can control the way people perceive him by the way he behaves. His sense of self is strong enough to refuse to be cowed by arbitrary power.

Offenbacher (1968) posits that the slum school and the slum environment reinforce each other and promote a particular form of cognitive functioning: "Thus home and school tend to blur into one buzzing confusion in which orders must be obeyed and tasks performed without any insight into the purpose of the enterprise. Just as the street in the lower-class neighborhood...is a kaleidoscope of episodic events without much logical connection, so the school is a conglomeration of episodic rules and orders... And over-arching the two worlds is the ever-present sanctioning power of adults and the ever-present sense of constraint, injustice and neglect." (p.5)

Many of the low income respondents in Offenbacher's study seemed to lack the ability to obtain insight into the interrelationship of events. This, Offenbacher describes as the "closed-minded syndrome" and he proposes that since there were both closed - and open-minded respondents given the same socio-economic and subcultural conditions, the etiology of the "closed-minded syndrome" must be sought in early childhood experiences which have, for the close-minded respondents, produced a basic pattern of hostility concerning parents and authority figures: "The attenuation of meaningful human relationships extended to teachers, other adults and even peers." The closed-minded student seemed to have no insight into the relationship between aspirations and personal biography; there was an inability to relate one's actions to one's goals; the closed-minded student maintained an "inarticulate hostility or detachment"; they refer to "getting into trouble" as largely a result of forces outside their control, and also experience dropping out of school as due to external circumstances.

The first three categories of responses to the "spy" question discussed above are closed-system responses; that is, the sets, expectations or hypotheses held by the subject depend on "irrelevant internal drive and/or arbitrary reinforcement from external authority". (p.6 - Offenbacher). Logical relationships between events and people are notably absent. The fourth and fifth categories are representatives of a more open system in which relationships between events and people are perceived; the subject is aware of motivations and means-ends sequences; power is not perceived as arbitrary or something that "happens".

Although we intend to employ these global categories in future analyses, we found that they were compounded of too many potentially divergent categories to be effectively utilized in the present analysis. Therefore, the analysis was performed on the four discrete variables listed above: initiative - vs - reactive, habits - vs - traits, introspectiveness, distinctions among others.

Other Self Concept Variables:

5. Content of "Better At": This variable derives from a question that asks the subjects to list those traits, skills, and abilities in which they feel superior to the average boy their age.

6. Number of "Better At": This variable consists of a simple count of the number of areas in which the subject feels he excels.

7. Source of "Better At": This variable refers to the item which asks the subjects how they gained their superiority. The two categories of this code discriminate between those subjects who feel that their superiority is due to their own efforts (e.g., practice or study) and those who report that their superiority is due to some inborn or natural talent.

8. "Practice-Natural": This variable reflects those behaviors, skills, and abilities in which the subject feels he is less effective than the average boy of his age, and at which he would like to become better. More specifically, it is concerned with what the subject feels it would take to make these desired changes. The two categories which make up this code discriminate between those subjects who say that in order to change they would have to exert effort or work ("Practice") and those who feel that in order to improve in desired ways they would have to change some fundamental natural characteristic ("Natural").

9. Number of "Not Good At": This variable consists of a simple count of the number of areas in which the subject feels he is inferior to the average boy of his age.

10. "Can/Can't Change": This variable refers to the item which asks the subjects whether or not they feel that they can make these desired changes, and thus reflects a sense of control over the environment.

11. "Can/Practice" - vs "Can't/Natural": As we indicated earlier, this variable distinguishes those subjects who feel they can change through practice, from those subjects who not only feel they cannot change but that any change would involve a modification of natural characteristics (e.g. growing taller, developing a talent). We combined these two variables in order to strengthen the contrast between subjects who showed a positive sense of possibility for improvement and who felt that such improvement was under their direct control, from those subjects who said that they could not change and who also indicated that the process of improvement was one in which they could not take an active or controlling role.

12. Perception of changes desired by reference figures: This refers to a series of variables which reflect the degree to which the subject feels his parents, siblings, peers, and teachers would like him to be different. Additional variables measure whether or not the subject agrees with the changes that significant others would like him to make.

13. Self-esteem: This is a variable made up of several items which elicit information on the degree to which the subject is satisfied with himself. The items include number of better at, number of not good at, the presence or absence of a desire to change places with someone else, and whether or not FC believes that his parents want him to make major or minor changes and whether or not FC agrees with the need for these changes.

Strategic Styles

Depending on his background and experience to date, the adolescent boy is more or less well-prepared to discover and shape a "way of being" in his world which will be satisfactory to himself and others - and will provide a certain continuity between childhood and the demands and opportunities of the adult male role he anticipates.

It is clear from preliminary examination of Pathways focal subject interviews, and interviewer contact with these boys, that an important part of the boy's developing identity is reflected by the ways in which he attempts to present himself to others.

When we speak of "identity" - a concept which has varied meaning in the social sciences - we are referring to Erikson's definition:

> The term identity expresses such a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others". (1959, p.102)

(Operationally, we are defining identity in terms of the degree of self-consistency a subject expresses in his description of himself in relation to others.) As Goffman indicates (1959), in order to affect meaningful communication of the self, an individual will have to act so that he intentionally or unintentionally expresses himself, and the others will in turn have to be impressed in some way by him".*

The articulation of this expression ("performance") and impression is what we shall call a "strategic style". Every strategic style implies both a perception of one's self as it is (the "real self") and an "ideal" self which the boy is attempting to portray. The discrepancy between a boy's "real" and ideal" selves may provide a measure of whether he is acting from a secure or a defensive position, and of how well he is able to "carry it off".

A strategic style, then, is a composite of behavioral patterns designed to convey facts and impressions about oneself, and which can be relatively natural and spontaneous, or contrived and self-conscious.

Although a boy may appear to combine several different styles, most Pathways FCs seem to operate within a "primary" or dominant style, supported by a "secondary" style which is available when the primary style fails or is inappropriate or which becomes salient in transitional periods.

The concept of strategic styles was developed theoretically from Merton's (1957) "individual adaptations" to a social system, and Rainwater's (1966) "strategies for survival". (A similar framework may be found in Parsons (1959) where he refers to three "levels of crystallization of youth-culture patterns.") The particular styles, such as "cool guy", "tough guy", etc., were taken from terms often introduced by the focal subjects when characterizing themselves and their friends. They frequently are used by interviewers, transcript readers, and the psychological tester - persons whose vocabularies include other taxonomies - who have felt that concepts in the vernacular of the subjects would characterize them more aptly. They are summarized here and related to terms used by Merton and Rainwater as described above.

Strategic Styles: Underlying Concepts

These refer to concepts which interviewers were asked to consider in relation to the operational definition of each style. References to previous operationalizations of the styles are retained in these definitions.

Basic concepts: expressiveness; restraint or lack of it; self esteem; ability to react to different people as though they were different or inability to do so; quality of relations with peers; need to "put people on"; ability to get what is wanted from people; relations with girls; "maturity"; degree of trouble focal is in and ability to get out of it; indication of secure or defensive stance; ability to vary behavior depending on situation and motives.

Strategic Style I: Expressive (Cool)

Merton's "innovation", Rainwater's "expressive".

"An effort to make yourself interesting and attractive to others so that you are better able to manipulate their behavior along lines that will provide some immediate gratification."*

The Cool Guy:

(In this revision, the "cool guy" category combined with what was previously divided into the "Together" guy and the "Supercool" guy.) He is expressive but can control his expressiveness; he reacts to people as though they were different individuals; he can vary his behavior in different situations and doesn't respond stereotypically; he knows what he wants, has a pretty good idea of how to get it and doesn't panic or take unnecessary chances; comfortable with self and others; can dress sharp but doesn't need to show off; has a strong ego and self confident but not too egocentric and narcissistic; will not antagonize peers but will fight if pushed; does all right with girls; mature for his age; in some ways or at some times he may be a loner or "keep his own counsel".

Strategic Style II: Expressive (Smart)

The Smart Guy:

(This is now a combination of three previous kinds of style the "con artist", the "show-off" and the "tough put on." We are now treating the "con artist" as one kind of "smart guy" and calling both the "show-off" and the "tough put-on" one category, namely the "put-on".)

The major characteristic of the "smart guy" style is that it involves devoting a great deal of attention to making certain kinds of impressions on other people so that they can be manipulated for the benefit of the "smart guy". This manipulation can be for many reasons; conning, gaming, hustling, jiving, shucking, copping a plea, trying to gain a primitive form of approval by being a clown, etc.

The major difference between the "con artist" and the "put-on" is that the "con artist" will be more clever and controlled in relating to people, depending on who he's trying to manipulate while the put-on treats people as though they were more or less alike, and really can't control his expressiveness - he has to show off or act tough to everybody.

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*All quotes under Strategic Style Types are from Rainwater (1966, pp. 194-199).

"The Con Artist":

He wants to be liked and noticed; wants to look cool; wants to get reactions from people; is a hustler and enjoys gaming people, may like to tell stories about his successful cons; tries to "put up a good front"; rapping very important to him; he's a sharp dresser and may at times go a bit overboard in flamboyance; slick, smart, sneaky; he takes more risks than the cool guy, but usually seems confident he can talk his way out of any real trouble; probably o.k. with girls but may bullshit a bit about his prowess as a stud; can vary his approach to the person he's with or trying to con.

"The Put-On":

He is less slick than the "con artist" and less successful in his cons; (other kids often notice this and may taunt him on it); (he's not convincing); needs to put people on or to get attention and sympathy, respect, or fear and may be very "un-cool" about relating to others in general; tends to react to people stereotypically; acts "crazy", clownish, or tough to most all his acquaintances and can't really let go when maybe he should; sometimes pushes too hard and becomes even more unconvincing; flailing attempts to prove masculinity, sexuality and strength; If he's the "tough put-on" variety, he has to come across as a "big man" ; adopts a violent style which may remain a verbal front only, but other kids may "call him" on it and make him either fight or run away; he's apt to try to impress younger or smaller kids with his toughness or surliness; tries to put them down; gets into trouble but tries not to take high risks; (may be a good "Dozens" player); uses others but won't and can't reciprocate because he doesn't have the personal resources; he may be a very dependent person - for all the toughness and exhibitionism he really needs constant approval and feedback from others; scared, often a "whiner" who tends to blame others for his troubles or his not getting what he wants; clearly immature with many self doubts he tries, sometimes frantically, sometimes uncertainly, to mask.

Strategic Style III: Rebellious (Tough)

Merton's "rebellion", Rainwater's "violent"

"...in which you force others to give you what you need once you fail to win it by verbal and other means".

"The Tough Guy"

He seeks high-risk, high gain activities; needs excitement, change, freedom, action; generally lacks support; chronically in trouble; often gets caught; seems to have high energy level, punctuated by a lot of sleep; doesn't plan activities much, nor does he think ahead as to the probable consequences of his actions; does a lot either on impulse or because one of his buddies initiated it and he just goes along for the action; perhaps very, almost blindly, loyal to his peer group; tends to repeat mistakes.

Strategic Style IV: Conformist

Merton's "ritualism/conformity," Rainwater's "reactive."

(Accepts basic terms of social and other situations as others define them: does not attempt to change, reject, or manipulate people or rules for his own end; goes along with the crowd takes his cues from others.)

"The Too-Good Guy" :

He doesn't challenge authority; (parent, teacher or older child; very sensitive about himself; does OK in school; does no wrong; no smoking, drinking, fighting, stealing, no girls; does work for money; plays a lot; immature; little self-confidence.

"The Alright Guy":

He is concerned with the way others see him and conforming to their standards, but not as uptight as the "too good guy"; may engage in small infractions which are not risky (like petty thievery) and which are more or less acceptable (like a clerk may swipe a few paper clips or stamps); joins in with prevailing mood when with peers; does OK in school (re: discipline (often grades); not "cool" and not much street savvy; avoids fights though he could have a temper or flare up occasionally; may work for money; may not make much of an impression on others, but is accepted; may mess with girls, smoke or drink, but not be in trouble on account of it; neutral, sort of indefinite self image; apt to think of himself as a "regular guy" but not a "good guy".

Strategic Style V: Withdrawn

Merton's "retreatism"; Rainwater's "depressive".

("...goals are increasingly constricted to the bare necessities for survival....") Range, intensity, and frequency of relationships are decreased.

"The Withdrawn Kid":

He has no street life; is introverted, a loner, or has one best friend*; engages in solitary activities e.g. hobbies, TV, reading; controlled, but can be forceful; OK in school; may value "quiet" label; unsure of self, at least vis-a-vis others, or perhaps doesn't think much of self; reserved, maybe shy; on first impression, may seem sad; limited contacts with any others except those necessary.

The Retreater, the "Bad News Cat":

He feels pressure from everyone around him but tries not to give in; doesn't fight back, but resists passively; ignores taunts; feels"bad, kind of mad", or depressed; lot of "acting"; feels victimized; expects disapproval.

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* He's likely, if with several kids to engage with them in withdrawal behavior such as glue-sniffing, mild drinking or pot.

STRATEGIC STYLE: RELATIONSHIP OF VARIABLES*

ANTECEDENTS (INDEPENDENT VARIABLES)	Relationships with others: (Including family structure availability of male role models, tone, etc.).	Characterizations of Boy by Others (Including tone, aspirations, and expectations).	Characterization of Self: (Including racial and personal esteem, sense of control, general self-concept).	Critical Experiences: (Regarding family, school, work, racial, etc.).	Perception of Systems as Open or Closed: (Including focal and parental attitudes.)
			Personality/Strategic Styles:		
"ORGANIZING" or (INTERVENING VARIABLES)	Innovative/Expressive (The Cool Guy, The Smart Guy)	Rebellious/Violent (The Tough Guy)	Ritualistic/Conformist/Reactive (The Conformist)		Retreatist/ Depressive (The Withdrawn Kid)
CONSEQUENCES (DEPENDENT VARIABLES)	Activity Orientation: (Home, school, street, etc; including preferred relationships attitudes toward others).	Value-Goal Orientation: (Home, school, peers, etc; including aspirations expectations of self, priorities, etc.).	Attitudes Toward Self: ("Feelings about "real" and "ideal" selves, wishes and hopes for changes, etc.).	Specific Choices: (e.g., drinking, stealing working for honor roll, dating, etc.).	Specific Routes: (Deviant, e.g., underworld, dropping out, or non-deviant e.g., school, work, sports).

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*Although direction of causality is implied here, it is recognized that certain variables can be considered independent or dependent (e.g., Perception of System as Open or Closed could also be an output.) Many variables listed here in fact reinforce each other over time.

Race Variables

1. Militant Racial Identity: This scale is made up of the addition of a number of individually coded items designed to assess the subject's attitudes toward and feelings about both hypothetical and real issues which deal with his sense of black identity and pride particularly in reference to political matters (they were scored on a scale from "disapproval" to "approval"): the following items make up this measure: a) feelings about a black leader being killed; b) his reaction to riots in the ghetto; c) his feelings about black power; d) whether or not he would push a magic button to turn the entire population black; e) whether or not he would take a magic pill which would transform him into a white person.

2. Willingness to Move in the White World: This scale represents a series of measures which relate to the FC's inclination to participate in the "White World"; items were separately coded in terms of how the subject felt about, a) living in a white neighborhood; b) attending a predominantly white school; c) socializing with groups of adolescents who were white; d) having close white male friends.

3. Level of Negro Knowledge: This measure attempted to assess the subject's familiarity with both past and contemporary Negro figures and groups. Although the final scale consisted of his total knowledge of groups and individuals, sub-scales were obtained that concentrated on different areas in which Negroes have become well-known, in the past and present. These included entertainment and sports figures, as well as political personalities. In addition the subject's knowledge of Negro figures who played roles in American history, art and science was measured. Finally we measured the extent of the subject's knowledge of black political, cultural and community groups. The measure called "Knowledge of groups and leaders" refers only to black political and cultural leaders and groups.

4. System Open-Closed: This measure was designed to assess the subject's judgements about racial barriers and discrimination in contemporary American society. Again, a group of individually coded items (each derived from different interview questions) made up this scale: a) the number of disadvantages of being Negro that the FC listed; b) the number of specific things which the FC said that Negroes cannot, or are not encouraged to do in their lives or with their lives as opposed to white people; c) whether or not the subject felt that in general life in the United States is different for Negroes than for white people, and if so is it worse or better; d) whether or not things are changing for Negroes today for the worse or for the better.

5. "Stereotyping": This measure derives from a question which asked the subjects, "What's the difference between white people you know and Negro people you know?" An answer was coded as "stereotypic" if the subject claimed that Negro and white people were exactly the same; these responses seemed to conform to the myth (learned in school, through the media, and perhaps at home) of perfect equality between the races, especially in regard to opportunity and privilege. The other two categories of the measure discriminated between those subjects who made generalized or uncomplicated statements about racial differences (e.g., "Blacks are good at sports and whites are good at making money") and those subjects who presented more complex and analytical statements about such differences.

6. Combined Racial Identity: This scale represents a cluster of measures which are intended, in combination, to tap the subject's sense of himself as a black American. The individual items include elements of his political and cultural connectedness with black people, as well as feeling or lack of feelings of racial pride. The scale was created by the addition of the following separate measures: a) "militant racial identity" (described above); b) "Positive racial identity"; this variable discriminates among those subjects who, when asked about racial differences, assigned superior qualities to whites, did not assign superior qualities to blacks, or did assign superior qualities to blacks (alternatively subjects were placed in this last category if they presented a complex discussion of racial differences which powerfully implied or explicitly articulated a strong sense of positive identity with black people); c) the subjects were asked to list what they judged to be advantages of being black; answers were categorized according to the content of the responses, which provided a rough continuum from those who thought there were no advantages, to those that listed specific behaviors, attitudes, or talents possessed exclusively by blacks. (See appended codebook for specific categories).

Occupational Variables

All of the occupations variables were constructed around versions of the same basic coding scheme with the exceptions of "Millionaire - WISE - President (Fantasy Ideal Jobs) "Could FC Be Ideal" "Source of Reasons Why FC Can or Cannot Attain Ideal Job," "FC's Negative Job Choice Reasons," "Jobs Blacks Can't Get."

The coding system for the following list of variables originates in Occupations and Social Status (Reiss, et al. 1961) and The American Occupational Structure (Blau and Duncan, 1967).

Variables, (by number)

140-142	Father's Occupation (Screening Interview)
143-145	Mother's Occupation
344-346	Father's Occupation (Work Interview)
316-318	FC's First Choice of Occupations
319-321	FC's Second Choice of Occupations
322-324	Father's Choice of Jobs for FC
325-327	Mother's Choice of Jobs for FC
334-336	FC's Negative Job Choice
328-330	Father's Negative Job Choice for FC
331-333	Mother's Negative Job Choice for FC
338	FC's Negative Job SES (Grouped)
339	Father's Negative Job Choice for FC-SES (Grouped)
340	Mother's Negative Job Choice for FC-SES (Grouped)
341-343	FC's Ideal Job Choice

The first coding scheme is referred to as the occupation "prestige" scale; here each occupation is assigned a numerical value from 0 to 96 based on listings derived from the NORC (National Opium Research Center) Index of Socioeconomic Status (listed in Reiss, Appendix A, 1961). The NORC Scale was calculated from 1950 census data; the scale rankings were arrived at through a regression analysis which included income, education and degree of prestige assigned to the various occupations obtained in a large survey of the American public. The "grouped prestige" variable is a simple collapsing of the prestige rankings with five groups. Finally, the third coding scheme we used is referred to as the SES Scale, and consists of descriptive categories of occupations (e.g. professional, trade, service), drawn from Blau and Duncan. These descriptive categories correlate highly with the "prestige" scale. Some categories of the Blau and Duncan classification, such as farm-worker, were eliminated from our code when they were clearly not applicable to the present sample. In other cases additional categores were added, such as "bum" or "millionaire" when these were appropriate to a particular variable (e.g. negative job choice or ideal job choice.

The following list of discrepancy variables were also based on the coding found in Reiss:

Variable #s

348	FC Job Grouped SES Discrepancy: FC 1st - Father's Occupation (Status Discrepancy)
347	FC Job Grouped SES Discrepancy: FC 1st - Father's Choice for FC
349	FC Job Grouped SES Discrepancy: FC 1st - Mother's Choice for FC
	FC Job Grouped SES Discrepancy: FC 1st Ideal Job Choice

In each case a focal's score was determined for the "Grouped SES Rank Order" version of the two variables whose SES were to be compared, and the focal then coded according to the SES of one variable being higher than another, or their being the same.

The remaining occupational variables were coded on the basis of reading master codes and making descriptive, or yes-no judgments.

The Duncan and Blau and NORC measures were used because they seemed to be the best available standardized scales of occupational (hence social-economic) status, despite the fact that they were constructed from data on the majority, white, American subculture. At the very least, using these indices allows us to compare our results with those of other minority culture studies, and with what is known of the U.S. population as a whole, because the measures are widely used.

Two Notes on the Contingency Tables

1. Why the N is sometimes incomplete. It will be apparent from looking at the data tables that each data run did not always include the entire sample. In some instances, the removal of some subjects from a particular run was intentional, when, for example, we were interested in examining a dimension that was relevant only to some sub-group of subjects. Another reason for missing cases arose when certain responses could not be fit into any of the coding categories. (We sometimes made the decision to sacrifice these cases instead of creating additional coding categories which might only be applicable to one subject and, thus, reduce the potential power of the statistical test; at the other times a given response was irrelevant to the particular code). In addition, there were times when a certain response was simply too difficult to code, either because of its ambiguity, complexity or due to the reticence on the part of some subjects to give full and adequate responses to certain interview items.

2. Testing the extremes of non-significant cross-tabs. The reader will note that we may from time to time violate the canon that forbids researchers to claim findings through implicit or explicit deletion of cells from non-significant contingency tables (rather than "collapsing" cells from already significant tables or performing tests on parts of a table). Since we're engaged in exploratory research, and because of the smallness of the observed frequencies in the extreme cells some of our trichotomized variables, we feel it legitimate to point to a possible relationship when we think we see one, in the hopes that it may help ourselves and others clarify thinking, identify trends, and that it may stimulate potentially productive hunches. Therefore, in reporting some nonsignificant tables, particularly when we've made predictions, we have often tested the extreme cells and included that test in the table, after pointing out that the p level for the whole table does not reach significance.

Comments on the Literature Relating to Family Structure

One of the major purposes of this project is to explore, help delineate and aid in the understanding of the contribution of varying characteristics of family structure and familial relationships to the formation of aspects of identity, coping styles and educational and vocational aspirations and achievements.

Particular emphasis has been given to the complex nature of relationships between the young black men of our sample and their fathers or those other, older, males who could also serve as their identification models for it is precisely here that many tensions focus and converge as do the sun's rays through a magnifying glass and with often similar effects: the tensions between the norms of the dominant white, middle-class culture and a subculture with its own integrity and norms, that of low-income black people; the tensions between rural and urban, southern and northern life-styles, and between African and American heritages; and, most important and volatile, the tensions between the myth of equal opportunity and the realities of racism and economic exploitation.

More scientific and political controversy has been focussed on the question of the intactness, integrity (and heriditary endowment) of the low-income, black family-particularly in reference to the social and economic effects of the presence or absence of the father, than has social and/or economic benefit come to those whose lives and fates have been under scrutiny. [Possibly the most tragic recent example of this was the destructive effect which the controversy over the so-called "Moynihan Report" (Barton, P. and Moynihan, D.P., 1965; Rainwater, L. and Yancey, W.L., 1967) had upon the possibility of enacting family assistance legislation during the Johnson Administration.]

However, to the extent that public program development, advocacy planning, and constructive community organization (as well as social scientific methodology and theory) can benefit directly from the breaking down of fantasies of the homogeneously pathetic state of the "father-absent-black-urban-lower-class-family", it seems worth while briefly to review some examples of the literature which forms background and context for our work.

Whether portraying black or white groups, studies on the effects of father-absence on the personalities, performance, and aspirations of the children seem to be sortable into the following categories: sexual identity; scholastic and vocational aspirations and achievement; delinquency; and those more general works which are concerned with the structure and dynamics of the "Negro low-class subculture", and particularly with the self-perpetuated nature of what Clark (1965) calls "The cycle of family instability."

Sexual Identity

Several studies have concentrated on problems of (always masculine) sexual identity which they have attributed to the generally deleterious effects of the temporary, seasonal, or permanent absence of the father from the household. In summing up some of them, Burton and Whiting (1960) write: "The absence of the father produces in the boy cross-sex identification which is either acted out, or, more usually defended against by exaggerated masculine behaviour". Similar findings and formulations appear in papers by Miller (1958), Stoltz (1954), Lynn and Sawrey (1959), Woronoff (1962), Pettigrew (1964), Biller and Borstelmann (1967), and Biller (1968). Pettigrew, for example, cites (pp. 19-20) an unpublished study comparing two matched samples of "working class Negroes in Boston (which) matched 21 adult males whose fathers had been absent during their early childhood with 21 men who possessed similar characteristics (age, income, education, region of birth, etc.), but whose fathers had been present in their early childhood", (non-significant) trends, indicating that the men from "father-absent" homes "felt more victimized, less in control of the environment, and more distrustful of others." Biller found a sample of father absent, black, six year-old boys "less masculine" than either their father-present counterparts or white father-absent or father-present boys on a "projective" (rather than directly observable) "sex-role orientation" test, and asserted that "underlying sex-role orientation is more influenced by father absence and family background than are more manifest aspects of masculinity."

Other investigators have either found cross-sex identification, sex-role confusion and conflict to be more frequent among younger than older boys, or have attributed observed problems of sexual identification to factors other than the absence of the father. For example, McCord, and Thurber (1962), investigating social workers' observations of white adolescent boys from poor families, found aggression and signs of feminine identification in the behaviour of boys whose fathers had left home when the boys were between the ages of six and twelve. It is important to note, however, these same underlying effects were found to hold if the father were present but the mother was "deviant" or rejecting.

In a study which adds further complexity to the problem, Heatherington (1966), found that black and white adolescent boys who had lost their fathers before the age of five were less aggressive and less likely to involve themselves in sex-typed activities involving competition, aggression, or physical contact. These subjects showed marked "feminine sex-role preferences" however, for those whose fathers left after the child was five, the loss had no effect on sex-typed behaviours, sex-role preferences, aggression, or activities preferences. The only differences which were obtained showed a reduction of dependency on parents and apparently stronger bonds with peers.

On the basis of the information provided in those two studies it is difficult to account for the discrepant findings relating to age and for the fact that McCord and colleagues found both aggression and its avoidance to be associated with father-absence while Heatherington with a similar sample found not increased but only decreased aggressiveness.

Subsequently, Barclay and Cusmano (1967) reported black, father-absent boys more confused in sexual identity. Reviewing their study in the light of his research, Wasserman (1968) interpreted their results as:

> "not inconsistent with the position that passivity or demasculinization is associated more with the true antecedents to marital disruption than to the father's physical absence per se."

In sharp contrast to the above investigations, Rafferty et al (1964) with a sample of father present and absent black kindergarten children, found no differences due to either father-absence or the length of his separation from the house. Because previously-cited differences were obtained from children younger than those studied by Rafferty et al, it might be argued that effects of father-absence would be muted for children whose fathers had left the household before the Oedipal phase had reached its height of complexity. However there is no reason to hypothesize that the differences obtained by either McCord and Thurber or by Heatherington would not have been present had those particular samples been studied earlier in their lives, nor have available theories obtained the precision necessary to depict the process whereby such differences would become apparent after five while they had been latent until then. Also, on the basis of the general work of Deutsch and others on the effects of early deprivation, one could have easily hypothesized the opposite result, namely a greater effect of the loss of the father on younger children.

At any rate except for the cross cultural finding cited by Burton and Whiting (1960) there are important inconsistencies of cross-studies attempting to relate sexual identity conflicts to father-absence. Similarly much of the work concerned with the effects attributed to the ages of children either at the time of their fathers' departure has failed to take into account the mode in which the absence occurred, and the explanation given to the children which would influence their expectation of the likelihood, frequency, and possible emotional contacts of their seeing their fathers in future period. In Heatherington's work, separation of father from family was permanent, but permanent absence is not invariably the case. In the case of the sons of the Norwegian sailors studied by Lynn and Sawrey, the children expected and looked forward to their fathers' cyclical return; whatever was the pain of separation the defensive reaction to that pain, they knew it was temporary and a necessary part of successful role performance in a culturally esteemed vocation. Other recurrent but temporary absences associated with work, such as the seasonal absences of migrant farmers, will have cycles shorter than the two year absences of the Norwegian sailors, but in both situations fathers may compensate for their absence by spending more prolonged periods with their families than persons in other occupations can ever do.

The situation is somewhat different in the case of children whose fathers go to war (eg. Stoltz, 1954). As in the case of the sailor, the traveling salesman, the executive who only comes home weekends, the soldier receives (or used to receive) general social approbation for his departure: he is not deserting his family, not leaving it because he can't "hack it" or because he wants to go but (as it is explained to children) because he must go-for the sake of his family, his country, his company. In contrast to the other situations, though the soldier will be expected by his children to return, neither will the actual length of his absence be known or will the fear that he may never return be ever greatly distant from their mother and, through her, from them.

Obviously none of these conditions of expectation obtain, nor the dignity of the reasons for the absence, in the case of the father who leaves his family as a result of marital discord, particularly for the unemployed or underemployed black man. There will be many permanent separations to be sure, but there will also be many temporary separations for indefinite lengths of time and often for reasons which are totally unclear to the child.

Though we do not wish to gloss over the fact that there is a greater proportion of "non-white" than white husbands who are divorced or separated from their wives in the United States, the Census Statistics cited by Barton and Moynihan (op. cit., p. 6) show miniscule differences in the percentages of divorces among whites and blacks in urban and rural comparisons while the rate of separation among "non-whites" approaches three times that of whites. This difference between the divorce and the separation rate supports the speculation that the black husband may rejoin and separate from his family more frequently than the white and that the difference is probably more strongly associated with economic factors and their interpersonal effects than purely interpersonal factors. (Incidentally, Langner and Michael, 1963, also using the 1960 Census data, found that 30 to 40% of all children, black and white, from urban centers had the experience of living in a broken home by the age of eighteen.)

For reasons argued cogently by Moynihan and others, in describing debilitating effects of discrimination and unemployment, the black man may be able to remain a family member only if he is working; if he does not have a job his ability to fulfill his role in the family could last only as long as the hope of decent employment could be maintained. If his unemployment is prolonged or if, by working, he cannot earn enough to support his family, he may be forced by the current welfare system to separate from his family or to live a degrading "underground" existence, constantly fleeing the footpads of welfare investigators. This situation is hardly analagous to those mentioned above which much of the literature on father-absence is based. The child in the poor urban family cannot depend on the term of his father's absence ending at a definite time; he may fantasize about his return but he can't depend on circumstances to bring his father home again. In order to understand the effects of his father's absence we must therefore take into account not only the child's age on the father's leaving but the construction he puts on the separation, the expectancies he forms about future relationships with the father, the compensatory fantasies evoked by the absence, the reactions of other family members-particularly the mother, older siblings, and grandparents to the separation, and the conditions which make the relative availability or unavailability of potential responsible father surrogates (eg. Rainwater, 1966). We should then find that at least some of the discrepancies in findings are due, not so much as we had thought, to differences in sample selection or methodology but to a necessary assumption of homogeneity of the effects of father-absence upon a population-"lower-class, urban Negroes" which is often treated stereotypically as homogeneous in spite of strong evidence to the contrary.

We should not, however, be overly surpised or distressed at the inconclusiveness or lack of comparability in generalizability in the studies of the effects of father-absence on black or white children when we consider that the literature on the effect of separation from both parents is similarly inconclusive. The major investigations and reviews of the short and long-term consequences of children's prolonged separation from their parents (Freud and Burlingham, 1944; Maas, 1963; Langner and Michael, 1963; Yarrow, 1964, passim) show no general, consistent, and enduring effects, that is, no significantly greater emotional impairments, no diminution of ability to establish relationships and damage to intellectual functioning (although Langner and Michael, studying whites only, find a slightly higher degree of symptomatology for white children coming from non-intact families, this seems almost balanced out by the maladaptive effects they find to be associated with having step-parent as opposed to being reared by a single parent who does not remarry). Perhaps what has contributed most to the lack of conclusive findings in this area is less methodological difficulties or the complexity of the problem but, as may be indicated in our discussion of the indominatability of the human spirit,

A Note on Patriarchies and Matriarchies

Whether based on psychoanalytic or role theory, one of the main premises of many of the studies we have cited is that the father is the sole family member upon whom satisfactory male sex-role identification depends: without this specific uniquely-cathected male present, the boy is assumed to be without a proper object of identification. Instead it is often implied that he is "left" to identify with his mother, and develops either "feminine" personality attributes or confusion in sex-role differentiation, or else he camouflages his "assumed" underlying passivity and dependence through compulsive reaction-formation, with exaggerated, overcompensated masculinity.

However other theoretical frameworks such as Lynn's theory of sexual identification (1966), posit that the male child sex-role development is as likely to be affected by the attitudes and sexuality of the mother as it is by the presence of the father. According to Lynn, two processes of identification occur simultaneously in the child's development: parental identification and sexual identification. Sexual identification here refers to the "internalization of the role typical of a given sex in a particular culture and to the unconscious reaction characteristic of that role,..Thus, theoretically, an individual might be thoroughly identified with the role typical of his own sex generally and yet poorly identified with his same sex parent specifically" therefore, even if the father is present, much of the male child's sexual identification must depend on his learning culturally defined sex-roles, and this learning process will depend highly upon female as well as male reinforcement from both inside and outside the family.

We can only conjecture how monolithically patriarchal the white middle class American urban family has been in recent generations. There's much reason to believe that with the decline of community cohesiveness, the work ethic and the internalized and externalized pressures to "succeed", expand, conglomerate, have become such all-consuming priorities in the lives of many middle class American males, that they have little interest, or (perhaps to be more gentle) energy or time to devote to frequent or prolonged direct involvement either with their children or in active family decision-making of the day-to-day variety of which much of the fabric of family life is woven.

The assumption that the black low income family in the United States is matriarchal whereas the white, lower and working class family and the overwhelming majority of middle and upper class families from all ethnic and racial groups are patriarchal is, to say the least, shaky in terms of the recent literature.

Regarding white lower-class families, Blood and Wolfe (1960) found the wife more dominant in family decision-making than expected. Similarly Boverman and Elder (1964), studying lower-class adolescents' perceptions of the family power structure, found the mother to be more dominant. Middleton and Putney (1966), found no significant differences attributable to class or race among samples of white and black middle class professors and white and black skilled workers; all families tended to be "equalitarian" (although non-working wives were more dominant than working wives). Finally, King (1967, 1969) cites data showing that the participation of the black, low-income father is stronger in family decision making than has been classically portrayed.

Though the father in the intact family may be the chief familial agent of the dispensation of rewards and punishment to his children-and, we have seen, there is reason to think this is much less the case than was previously assumed even for the middle class, he is often thoroughly dependent on his wife's reports and judgments because he simply hasn't been around long enough to observe the behavior of his children first-hand, nor has he had the occasion to try to make sense of their behaviour unless confronted with an important career choice point or blatant crisis; in fact, he may take a humble pride in the thought that he as a father is neither expected to understand nor competent to engage in the practice of child-rearing, which is essentially a womens' "craft and sullen art." I would hazard that the discovery that many American middle-class, white husbands and fathers were actually spending more time than usual around their homes and learning to participate in the raising of their children would make most of their fellow men threatened as to sexual identity and only increase mounting apprehension, wholly justified, about the future of the Republic.

It is probable, then, that, just as the lower-income Negro male has been found to participate more actively in family decision-making than historically assumed, that many middle-class white males have been much more passive than theory has assumed.

We may also question the extent to which personality characteristics usually linked with masculinity or femininity are, in fact, sex specific. For example, in the actual running of a household-of any socio-economic status, a wife may be called on to demonstrate qualities usually assigned to the masculine preserve: assertiveness, aggressiveness, pugnacity, authoritarianism, physical strength and endurance, long-range hard-headed planning, the taking of risks, innovativeness and inner-directedness, whereas a man at his chosen work, may daily perform (especially in relation to his superiors), and be rewarded for, his consummate mastery of qualities often characterized in the social scientific literature as effeminate: loyalty, conformity, compliance, docility, flexibility, malleability, submissiveness, coyness, modesty, self-effacement, neatness, vanity, flattery, sycophancy, subtle manipulation, gossiping and guile. In fact, some of man's most masculine professions (eg. military service, professional athletics and corporate entrepreneurialism) place high premium on these abilities, among others, to be sure.

Obviously, the fact that such "feminine-by association" attributes are often essential ingredients in a man's recipe for success does not detract from the perceived manliness of his success. The fact that he is rewarded by whatever criteria-additional responsibilities or perquisites, promotion, pay raises, seniority benefits, this fact serves retroactively as an unquestionable affirmation of his masculinity (similarly, when a woman is successful in a role which has not been traditionally open to females, successful through the utilization of the same "feminine" traits ascribed above to men at work, her success also serves as a reconfirmation of her masculinity, or the masculinity she was suspected of having when she entered the field in the first place.)

Lynn's distinction between parental identification and sex-role identification is extremely important here, for, in our attempt to understand the process whereby a child identifies (or identifies fully or partially with the same sex parent, we often fail to note and give proper weight to salient differences in the ways that mothers and fathers are experienced by children because of differences in the kinds and ranges of behaviour they typically exhibit before their children. Here I am speaking about parental behaviour directly observable by children rather than behaviour which is inferred by them, related to them by parents, or inferred by their seeing the reaction of other persons to their parents. Clearly, children in their most crucial formative years have far greater opportunity for prolonged and continued contact with their mothers (or the person who cares for them, usually a woman) than their fathers. By experiencing a wide range of their mothers activities and moods, children develop an intimate awareness not only of the mother's child-related interactions and feelings but of her general competencies, coping styles, and affective reactions to frustration and accomplishment. On the other hand, children do not directly experience the larger context in which their father's masculine role is performed and evaluated but rather, at second-hand, through his affective state on coming home from work through the image he presents to them of himself or out with his peers, through his wife's reactions to him, through his ability to provide economic security and luxuries, and through their gaining knowledge of the esteem in which their neighborhood or the general society holds him by virtue of his attaining particular social and occupational roles. So long as the father maintains his power to bring money and provide security into the family he is called effective even though the child may never see him. However roles may be distributed in any family where the father, employed or unemployed, is generally away from home-except for a few weekday hours before the young child's bedtime and more concentrated period on the weekends and holidays, the source of his prestige and authority must be much more dependent on factors external to or intervening in his direct relationship with his children than is the source of maternal authority. As was said above, even if it is the unquestioned role of the father to be charged with the dispensation of rewards and punishment within a particular family, it is often the necessary role of the mother to fill him in on why the child should be punished or disciplined and, as often, to suggest to him (whether or not he typically goes along with her) the appropriate levels of reward or punishment and manner of conveying same. We are familiar with the ways that family members particularly mothers communicate to the child those intervening and external factors which function to enhance or erode the image of the father as an effective and powerful male; "Daddy will hit the ceiling when he hears what you did...I haven't decided whether to tell him but..."; "your father didn't come home tonight because he loves us and he's been working overtime so that we can have a nice vacation": or "don't bother daddy now, he gets kind of grouchy after he's been laid off so long."

So far as the son is concerned, the relative power and "masculinity" he perceives in his father is partially a result of direct interrelating with him, partially the image of his father reflected through others, especially his mother, and partially (often mostly) a function of his perception of the status attributed to his father solely because he is married, he is a father, he supports his family, and he occupies social and occupational roles particularly respected in his community. The latter factor of the social status granted the father as head of the family and provider cannot be overstated. for in our culture it is often powerful enough to either overcome or to balance out his personal deficits and lack of competence in other areas, particularly family functioning, and can only be negated by a virtually total and visible vocational failure, emotional breakdown, or by the stigma of his desertion of his family. All these factors suggest that, because a child's perception of his or her father, whether present or absent from home, is much more dependent on data from other sources than direct father-child interaction than is the perception of the mother, it is therefore much more vulnerable to the child's distortions and compensatory fantasies as he or she tries to "fill in" the picture of the father, and to harmonize discrepancies in the images received from the different roles in which he functions and in which others perceive him.

Though we would expect the situation to be general throughout our culture there are clearly differences depending on class or caste in the extent to which the social structure supports the individual father by ascribing status to his role as father and husband. In the white and middle-class family, regardless of the degree to which occupational demands remove the father from the home, he still remains its figure head. As the central wage-earner, he is the person upon which the whole family structure depends (Seeley, Sim, Loosly, 1956). No matter how much of the actual discipline involved in child-rearing falls into the hands of the mother the father still holds a symbolic position as "head of the family" and he is still expected to: (a) to set up an example for his sons and thus to supply his sons with educational and vocational goals; (b) to reinforce his sons masculine identity through encouraging the development of comraderie in his sons by taking them to sports events, etc.; and (c) and, to pass along to his sons either implicitly or explicitly a heritage which, if it is not fully known, can at least be unearthed as far into the past as is necessary to provide a sense of ethnic, racial or religious identity.

In the black, low-income family on the other hand, the father's role is drastically affected by a heritage corroded by racism and the socio-economic conditions under which he lives specifically the limited employment, low quality and degree of education and the lack of political power available to him. Little assurance of stability or "survival security" comes his way even with a job. As Pettigrew (1964) states, "when the unskilled Negro male has managed to secure a job, he generally assumes an occupation that pays barely enough to support himself much less a family", the last man hired, the last man promoted, and the first man laid off-the black male has been mocked rather than supported by the "American dream" of the stable, father-support family which is constantly accruing means and respect, a fantasy whose pressures he must bear nonetheless. Unlike the white middle or working-class father, no status is automatically granted him as a father, a husband, or a job-holder. In fact, those factors of status are more likely to come to the black woman who has traditionally had both the opportunity to earn higher salaries and prestigious occupations and the alternative of placing herself and her children under the care of ABC payments, which may not be adequate but have the possibility of being continuous (as long as her husband is not at home).

Since circumstances rarely have permitted the black father educational and occupational achievements which his child could unambivalently emulate and since he is thus deprived of the automatic ascription of "head of family" which the white wife, in marrying, bestows upon her husband, we might assume that the black father's position in his family will be what he makes it; nothing will be masked or enhanced by prestige assigned to his role as father or breadwinner. Thus, whatever effect he has on his son will more likely result or be influenced by direct interaction than in the case of the white father.

Father absence must also be considered within a context which emphasizes the importance of the actual relationship between father and son. If the father's hostile or indifferent to a son before separation, the aftermath in terms of the child's development may have more to do with this relationship than with the father's absence. And, conversely, if he has been living in supportive and has spent meaningful time with his children, if he has actually participated in their formative years, then the results may be more favorable, regardless of later separation, particularly if he maintains positive relations with his children after leaving the household. (Our findings, to be described below, support this common-sensical position.)

In the father-absent home, the son's ability to find in his father a positive object of identification will be related not only to the nature of their continued contacts but to the image of the father as conveyed by the mother, other relatives, friends, and older siblings who knew the father better, as well as upon the usually positive compensatory fantasies children build up about parents who are away or dead. If a child from an intact family is greatly dependent upon his mother's portrayal of his father, much more will be his reliance on her accounts of him when he is gone (Clausen, 1966). Even if the mother hasn't much good to say about the father but simply doesn't overtly derogate him and is otherwise supportive of the child's masculine behaviour and encourages his identification with masculine figures outside the family, we may find a radically different developmental process at work, one which resembles more the process assumed to be normative in the white middle-class, than if the mother acts out her hostility towards men on her son, neglects him, or prefers to express her eroticism by babying him and reinforcing passivity, dependency or other so-called "feminine" aspects of his behaviour (Wylie and Delgado, 1959; also Lynn and Sawrey, op cit.).

Scholastic and Vocational Achievement and Aspiration (including IQ as related to achievement)

Generally the facts concerning the effects of different forms of family structure and the condition of father absence on intellectual and academic achievement within samples of black children and adolescence from low-income families give a mixed picture. Deutsch and Brown (1964) examining IQ scores of black first and fifth graders from poor families in New York City, found evidence that children from father-absent families performed less well on IQ and other academic criteria than did children whose fathers were in the home. Our search of the literature leaves some uncertainty as to how widely these findings have been replicated or corroborated in other studies, especially in regards to IQ scores.

On the other hand, several investigations along with that of Langner and Michael. who dealt only with whites, have not found deficits in intellectual and academic performance associated with separation from parents. The authors of the "Coleman Report" (Coleman, et al, 1966) concluded that father absence was one of the weakest background factors they had utilized. Likewise, Wasserman (1968), in an intensive small-sample study, found that, though black male children from father-absent homes had a greater frequency of "nervous symptoms" and school "behavior problems" than those whose fathers were present, there were no significant relationships between variables related to father absence and variables related to school achievement. He makes the point that, whether father absent or not, the fearful, overprotected or withdrawn youngster may not only be a good student but...highly conforming generally."

The expectation that father absence will be predictive of poor intellectual and academic performance is sometimes coupled with the implicit recognition or assumption that the husbandless mother may have lower aspirations for herself and her son or that she may be a poor conveyor and supporter of such aspirations so far as her son is concerned. According to Parker and Kleiner (1966) she may "exert a depressing influence on the goal-striving behavior of her children" because of her own relatively lower "goal-striving stress".

Independent of intactness of family, there are other studies, such as that of Whiteman, Brown and Deutsch (1967) which either corroborate Parker and Kleiner in relating low academic and vocational aspirations to low SES or which point to low intra-class effects. (One of these latter investigations, Duncan & Duncan, 1969, will be discussed below in regards to the hypothesis of the self-perpetuating aspects of ghetto culture.) Incidentally, Walter Miller (1958) affirms the heterogeneity of the black "lower class" by noting that, regardless of the specific family's score on any particular SES measure, one operational definition of middle-class status (or orientation towards the middle class) which could properly be utilized in this sort of investigation would be the parents' sense that their children would and should attend college, that is, the expectation of going and the sense of having a right to go to college as opposed to the aspiration. In other words, the definition of social class may involve important attitudinal variables which can transcend the usual demographic indices. It should be added that, on the basis of interviews with parents and contacts with groups in the black communities of Boston and other large northern megalopolitan areas we concur with Reiss and Rhodes (1959) and Lewis (1966) that the educational aspirations of low-income blacks tend to be quite high, independent of family structure, so consistently high that researchers such as Antonovsky have characterized them as being quite unrealistic in terms of available opportunities.

Regarding the varying effects of maternal and paternal aspirations on the child it seems likely that women in general or mothers of matriarchal families, whether husbandless or not, might have higher academic and occupational aspirations for their children than do the childrens' fathers. (See Chapter 11). And especially the black woman who has no husband or close male to inform her about the work world for black young men, occupational aspirations for a son may not only be higher but possibly vaguer and less realistic because of the absence of any male to temper her hopes and wishes with either the bitter reality of vocational possibilities for black males (Corbin, 1968) or a knowledge of the instrumental steps necessary for black men to achieve occupational mobility.

Rosen (1957) working with mothers' responses rather than childrens' responses, accummulated some evidence to the contrary, but Smith and Abramson's attempted replication of his findings (1962) failed. When we consider only studies utilizing students own reported aspirations or their perception of parents' aspirations for them, the accummulated findings do not support the hypothesis of depressed education and vocational aspirations whether due to race, class, or non-intactness of family. To the contrary, Reiss, Jr. and Rhodes (op cit, 1959), Antonovsky and Lerner (1959), Smith and Abramson, and Antonovsky (1967) all found samples of blacks generally to be higher in both educational and occupational aspirations than were white groups. The proportion of black youth from non-intact families was high enough so the lowering of aspirations associated with father absence would have washed out the striking overall differences; in Antonovsky and Lerner's sample, for instance, 58% of the black youth were from non-intact families as compared to 31% of the white, lower-class youth. Reiss and Rhodes found that, although delinquents and truants were most likely to want to quit school, "Negro adolescents value school more than white adolescents," and that they are more achievement-oriented in terms of their educational aspirations.

Delinquency

The bulk of investigations into the familial correlates of juvenile delinquency find some degree of association between delinquency and intactness or cohesiveness of family (eg. the Gluecks, 1951 and 1968; Reckless, Dinitz and Murray, 1956; Cavan, 1959; Scarpitti, et al, 1960; and Kramer, 1964). The magnitude of relationships obtained, to my knowledge, have not been significantly higher for black youth than for white, although the frequencies of "husbandlessness" have been greater for neighborhoods in the black ghetto.

The fact that correlations have typically been found does not establish the absence of the father or mother as a cause of delinquency of the child, especially when father absence is due to marital discord, rather than say migration to a better job-site, or unemployment, and the necessity to be away from the family in order that the mother be eligible for a ADC. Nye (1957) reports that a broken home may be more beneficial for the growth of children than a family which is intact but conflict-ridden and that subjects from "broken homes" seem to have fewer psychosomatic illnesses, less delinquent behaviour, more favorable general adjustment. and better adjustment to the remaining parent than children from unbroken. unhappy homes. He also asserts that these differences should hold for intra-class comparisons in upper and middle as well as lower socio-economic levels. Similarly, McCord and Thurber (1962) reported gang delinquency present in higher proportions among white boys whose parents were living together with conflict than among white boys whose fathers were absent.

Lynn and Sawrey (1959) had earlier maintained that the consequences of father absence had to be considered in terms of its effects on the mother rather than our assuming that the main impact was through directed effects on the children; some mothers in their study became more protective and authoritarian than mothers from the intact families in the sample.

Our earlier sketch of literature on sexual identity has shown the importance of the age of the child when the separation occurs and the probability that behavioural problems may become muted over time. We might expect that negative effects would persist longer and more strongly in children who actually became delinquents (regardless of whether the "delinquency" or "maladaptive behavior" is actually of a normative adjustment pattern). However the work of the Gluecks (although limited to white samples) indicates that this may not be the case; a certain degree of "recovery" or perhaps a regression to the behavioural mean of the dominant society seems to occur with age.

In *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (1951) the Gluecks reported that their all-white delinquent sample came from less cohesive families than their all-white, non-delinquent control group. Sixty per cent of the delinquents came from homes characterized by separation, divorce, death, or the prolonged absence of the parents; yet by the first follow-up, when individuals in the sample had reached age 25, 80% of each group had already married (there was no difference between the groups in the frequency of marriages "forced" or precipitated by pregnancy.) On a broader criterion of family cohesiveness ("strong emotional ties among the members, joint interests, pride in the home, and a strong 'we' feeling in general," not necessarily equivalent to father absence), 16% of the delinquents came from *cohesive* households as opposed to 61.8% of the non-delinquents. However, by the second follow-up at age 31 (1968), though there were unmistakable signs of greater marital strain among the young men of the delinquent sample, "50.9% of the families of the delinquents and 82% of the families of the non-delinquents could be described as cohesive. *This represents a marked improvement in the delinquent group and continuing improvements among the non-delinquents*" (pp. 88-9). Perhaps the "improvement" or "remission" of sociopathic behaviour could turn out to be less among blacks; we don't have comparable longitudinal data. Perhaps the socio-economic consequences of racism tend to keep black young men with delinquent histories more tightly locked into legally precarious patterns of behaviour. Not only the privations of the ghetto but its vulnerability to abuses were permitted and performed by some police (Rainwater and Yancey, 1967, pp. 230-231) result in an extremely high probability (estimated at 90%)that any ghetto youth will accumulate some sort of police record by the time he reaches majority. Nevertheless we would expect to find among black youth the same kind of trend toward the amelioration of the effects of family conflict and the diminution of disfunctional (to the youth) behaviour and of recidivism with greater physical maturity that the Gluecks report as occurring within their white sample (1968, pp.166, 176-180). This gradual improvement occurs in spite of the deplorable ineffectuality of our half-hearted attempts at "rehabilitation".

One point should be stressed here: just as our theories enable us to postdict from the adolescent or young adult's present disorders, failures and miseries to his or her past traumatic, rejections, and separations, we must energetically seek the historical inroutes of those recoveries and burgeoning competencies, those instances of the shaking off of the oppressive past which often seem unwarranted or inexplicable in view of the socio-economic barriers and the pervasive social malaise of the dominant culture. Therefore we are taught to assume that the "maturation" or "socialization" alone can function to elicit qualitative behavioural changes in black or white young people so that, all of a sudden, they begin to delay gratification, control impulses, take on responsibilities, where before they did the opposite. Such a picture surely derives from our stereotypical expectations in interpretations of the behaviour of poor people particularly black adolescents (see Lewis, 1966, passim). Against such expectations, we cite the work of Bixenstein and Buterbaugh (1967) who, expecting to find delinquency in black and white youth to be "related to integrative failures as measured by choice of a small but an immediate reward over a large but remote reward", instead found that "Negro adolescents, particularly delinquent Negroes, were more likely to choose the large delayed reward than were whites." In another situation-performance on the Porteus mazes, a test often presumed to assess foresight, impulse control and planfulness (the delinquents) did surprisingly and significantly better than the non-delinquents." The "lower class" black adolescents in this study look much like social scientists' fantasies of middle white youth. We could also reflect on the adequacy of the portrayal of the capacities of middle-class people to delay gratification, etc., when the entire culture seems oriented towards "instant" cooking, "jiffy" cleaning, "new money" (credit cards) and attempts by very middle class soldiers and politicians to apply short-term solutions (e.g., bombing. permitting unemployment levels to rise) to long-term problems.

"The Cycle of Family Instability"

The investigations we've reviewed here, particularly those of the Gluecks, show that researchers are far from demonstrating specific or global deleterious long-term consequences attributable to father absence for children in general. And in spite of the greater frequency of husbandless households in low-income, black neighborhoods we still do not have compelling findings showing that such effects, to the extent that they occur, are more serious, prolonged, or self-perpetuating for black, male children from poor families than other children of the poor. (We must remember as Lewis, 1966, insists, that the two-parent family also represents the modal form, the norm, even for low-income blacks.)

The bitter and passionate controversy over the so-called "Moynihan Report", that would evoke much disputation as to the facts unfortunately centered on the directionality of causal relationships between what the authors called "breakdown of the Negro family", economic (welfare) dependency, the "failure" and sociopathy of, particularly male, black youth. Fundamental to the report's thesis and to the work of many others who did not necessarily agree with it, is the question of the self-perpetuating nature of the problems of the ghetto. Arguments that background factors associated with family stability-at whatever point in the causal sequence-result in or perpetuate the academic and vocational failure of black youth, delinquency, other emotionally and socially disfunctional behavioural patterns, future marital failure, etc., cannot be proven by epidemiological statistics but only through longitudinal comparisons which show that particular groups of children from "unstable" families are more likely to experience the above outcomes than children who come from "more cohesive" families. As the literature shows, not only have the variables been too complex in their interrelationships, too conditional for unequivical results to be shown even in "one-shot" studies, but there is a dearth of adequate longitudinal data.

Nonetheless some social scientists have persisted in assuming these effects. Grambs, for example, in Kvaraceus et al (1964), discussing possible effects on self concept and identification maintains that the fragility and instability of the black family feeds itself from generation to generation and the children are being raised inadequately by single parents who cannot effectively function as identification models or examplars of competent parenthood and family decision-making since they themselves come from unstable and broken families, have had no experience with successful family functioning, and are likely to be low in self esteem and full of conscious or unconscious self hatred.

Most of the published longitudinal studies which support the "cycle of family instability" hypothesis are clinical or anecdotal (Kardiner and Ovesev, 1951; Rohrer and Edmonson. 1960). Though longitudinal studies are lacking which are both intensive and statistical, one of the most important and sophisticated analysis is that of Duncan & Duncan (1969). Utilizing census data, they test two of the major predictions of the "vicious circle" hypothesis: (1) "Does the experience of growing up in a broken family increase the probability that a man will be found unmarried or living apart from his wife in adulthood?" (2) "Does non-intactness family background increase the likelihood that a man will be less successful occupationally than a man from an intact family?" In posing these questions, the Duncans explicitly state that they are not making any assumptions about the relative disadvantages of matriarchal family structures. In regards to the first question, they write:

> "the answer, in so far as can be revealed by the results of the survey, is no. For neither the Negro nor the non-Negro man does an intergenerational transmission of family instability appear to be operating, insofar as instability is indexed by the absence of a spouse in the home.
>
> There is, then, no sound basis for postulating a cycle of broken family relations such that failure of the parents to share a home with one another and their offspring predisposed their sons to life without a spouse." (op cit, pp. 275-276)

The Duncans acknowledge that the second question is methodologically much more complicated because, for the man who grew up in a female-headed family, family size and the education and occupation of female family head are less informative about the socio-economic status and life style of the family than comparable data from male-headed families (see pp. 281-284). Taking into account and trying to compensate for this problem, they conclude that:

> "an intact family background seems to confer a long-run advantage with respect to occupational success, not accounted for simply by the superior job qualifications of men who grow up in a home in which both parents were present. Whether it is the role-model provided by father maintaining an intact family or whether it is some other element in the intact-family setting that is conducive to the son's occupational success cannot be determined with the data at hand."

It is important to stress another of the Duncans' conclusions: that "the handicap to occupational successes with a broken-family background and the disproportionate number of Negro men reared in broken families can contribute to, but *by no means account for* the racial difference in occupational success." (italics mine)

They refer to "the powerlessness of the Negro man with respect to attaining success", a powerlessness which we, possibly differing with the Duncans, take to result from the barriers to occupational mobility: inadequate access to appropriate schooling and vocational training and discriminatory union and hiring practices. Though the black son may have "three years more of schooling than his father

> "his occupation score will average only one scale point higher than his father's occupation score...; the non-Negroes score will average some ten points higher though he will have only had three additional years of schooling. Judging from the experience of his father, a Negro man cannot expect to transmit to his son such occupational status as he has been able to achieve with any effectiveness approaching the non-Negro standard. When the son's current application is regressed on father's occupation, the increase in son's socio-economic status score accompanying an increase of one score point in father's score amounts to only 0.14 points for the Negro as opposed to 0.40 for the non-Negro."

It seems to us reasonable that, whereas studies investigating the relationship between intactness of family and sexual identity, social adjustment, academic achievement, education and occupational aspirations, delinquency, and future marital success have come up with equivocal findings, the area where the black man has been found to be most vulnerable, perhaps most effectively damaged by father-absence, is the area of occupational mobility, which is "the name of the game" in our country.

In the controversy between those who stress the degrading aspects and forms of ghetto life, which do exist, and those who stress the strength, resiliency and achievements of persons in and from the ghetto, which do exist, the major social and educational issue here is not for us to condemn, praise, or appreciate the lives and culture of poor black people. Clearly, at this point in history, no one, whatever his political or scientific biases, can safely gloss over the facts of continuing destruction, exploitation, and frustration of black Americans and the increasing wastage of their human efforts and talents. Yet, no matter how much we make of the integrity, flexibility, tenacity and creativity of the Afro-American subculture and its familial forms and the inappropriateness of applying "white middle-class norm" of behaviour to it, and the continuous supportiveness of the extended family in the black community, no matter how much inspiration for black youth can be found in the stories of black women and men overcoming adversity and bias to achieve success in their own terms or in group terms, the major moral and political question remains: what choices were available, what choices should have been/should be available? For example, even if a matriarchal society does exist in the subculture of poor black people and if it functioned differently enough from matriarchies that might exist in other groups and within other strata of the society so that it is notable and, even if it represented as Gans (1967, pp. 451-452) and others have said "the most positive (adaption) possible to the conditions which Negroes must endure" we would still have to ask as Jencks did in 1966: matriarchy (or any other form), the structure which members of the black community preferred in the past and, knowing the national realities and possibilities, is such a form the one they would now choose for themselves in shaping their lives to their most desired goals?

CHAPTER 4

HYPOTHESES

The Pathways research, having been conceived as a basically exploratory study, was not primarily oriented towards the testing of hypotheses. Many of the explicit and implicit hypotheses we formulated were as much methodological as conceptual: that, for example, the use of depth interview material from samples highly controlled on race, social class, and other demographic variables (northern urban upbringing, Boston public schooling, from a particular neighborhood) would yield not only "codable" variables but individual differences on personality dimensions, and effects due to within social class heterogeneity; that, with this particular population, second job choices would be more strongly related to demographic differences and aspects of expectations and aspirations than would first job choice. Our study of the relevant literatures confirmed the suspicions of our personal experience that the relationships between family background, personality, and behavior would be highly conditional, and that it therefore would be pointless to fall into the trap of predicting, for instance, that father-absence would have uniform effects independent of the context in which the absence occurred, or that traits such as "internal control of reinforcement" would be general rather than specific to a person's perceived areas of competence and incompetence and the extent to which he valued those particular areas. Two sorts of predictions were tested in the course of data analysis: The first involved hypotheses formulated before data collection; the second were predictions made from observed relationships or non-relationships of two or three variables which had not yet been analyzed, in some cases to variables which had not yet been constructed. We consider the latter legitimate predictions, or perhaps more accurately, post-dictions, however in this section we will deal only with hypotheses explicitly formulated in the research proposal.

Hypothesis I

Given predominantly positive life experiences (including messages about himself from others), and perception of the system as open, the adolescent boy will likely adopt either an expressive or a conformist strategic style in both school and non-school situations. Given predominantly negative life experiences, messages about himself, and perception of the opportunity system *as closed, the adolescent will be likely to adopt either a rebellious or a withdrawing strategic style in both school and non-school situations.*

This hypothesis arose from previously discussed theoretical classifications of Merton (1957) and Rainwater (1966). It was tested by contrasting those FC's with *expressive* and *conformist strategic styles* with those characterized as *rebellious* ("tough guys") or *withdrawn* on dimensions assumed to be related to, or to contribute to "positive life experiences," namely *family support*, *quality of family life*, *quality of relationships with individual parents*, *self-esteem*, *magnitude of changes perceived as desired by reference figures*, *and perception of the system as open or closed*. Predictions comparing these particular clusterings of *strategic style* (*rebellious* and *withdrawn* versus *expressive* and *conformist*) must be tested on a somewhat lopsided distribution, since 82 percent of the observed focals were judged to have strategic styles falling into the latter category. The prediction was generally not confirmed when self-esteem scores were compared. No differences were found on any of the background or familial variables or in relationship to perceived openness or closedness of the opportunity system. However, a non-significant trend showed 80 percent of the *tough guys* and *withdrawn* focals to be on the *low* extreme of the trichotomized self-esteem scores as opposed to approximately 52 percent of the *expressives* and *conformists* who fell on either extreme of the self-concept scale. Further attempts to discover the bases of *strategic style* in familial relationships will be discussed below in Chapter 7.

Hypothesis II

Expressive and rebellious strategic styles will be associated with an orientation toward peers and street life, collective trouble, and routes considered "deviant" to middle-class America (such as dropping out, illegal activities, etc.).

The testing of this hypothesis is confounded by the fact that the assignment of an FC to a particular *strategic style* is a global judgment on the part of the interviewer, and some of the definitions of strategic style include behavior relevant to street life and "trouble" or what we have called "hot water." Therefore, we must view any associations or lack of associations between various forms of "hot water" and strategic style only in the sense of whether or not they corroborate the assignments of strategic styles to the FC's by the interviewers.

Tables 4.1 to 4.7 show that in every category of the "hot water" variable--*school punishment*, *school defiance*, *hookey*, frequency of illegal acts, (non-school) fighting--and the two summary "hot water" scores, the conformists and the withdrawn FC's engage far less in activities which have gotten or could get them into trouble with either scholastic, municipal, or parental authority than do the expressive and rebellious FC's.

Tables 4.3 (strategic style and hookey) and 4.8 (strategic style and reference figures perceived as desiring major changes in FC) provide a crude, though not very satisfactory, approximation to peer orientation. We used hookey because we found that most FC's who "hooked" did so, by about 3 to 1, with peers rather than simply staying at home alone and that the peer group served not only to organize activities while the boys were out of school but that individuals in the peer group felt that they needed to stick together in order to provide mutual alibies and support, while those who had no close peers usually did not play hookey at all. In addition, Table 4.8 represents a confirmation of a prediction that expressive and rebellious FC's will tend to perceive peers as more accepting of them (i.e., less desirous of their making major behavioral or personality changes) than will conformist or withdrawn FC's (we did not predict the reverse of this in regards to parents, i.e., that conformist and withdrawn children would perceive parents as being more accepting than the others for, in spite of theory, we did not think there was any basis for assuming that tendencies toward conformity or retreatism originated in parental acceptance nor that expressivity is a function of rejection or criticism). Other data relevant to the association of peer versus adult orientations with strategic style will be examined in the near future and described in another report.

Another prediction included under Hypothesis II states that conformist and withdrawn strategic styles would be associated with school achievement and staying in school as opposed to dropping out. Table 4.9 shows a significant relationship between strategic styles and school grades achieved at the end of the first academic year of the study, in June, 1967 (before any of the focals had dropped out), to the effect that conformists and withdrawn FC's received higher grades than did the "cool, smart, and tough guys" (the expressive and rebellious groups). It is particularly striking that 100 percent of the former group were doing C or better work, while approximately 17 percent of the latter group were having academic difficulty. For the analysis of correlations, a continuum of strategic styles was constructed (withdrawn-conformist-cool-smart-tough). The correlations between strategic styles and 1967 grades was .48 (significant at the .01 level). No such clear-cut relationships were obtained for 1968 and 1969 grade point averages. However, the correlational analysis supported the prediction relative to dropping out in two ways: first, "rebellious" and "expressive" FC's

TABLE 4.1

Strategic Style versus School Punishment

School Punishment	Strategic Style Expressive and Rebellious	 Conformist and Withdrawn	Total
Not Suspended	3	5	8
Suspended	12	2	14
Total	15	7	22

p level .05*

TABLE 4.2

Strategic Style versus School Defiance

School Defiance	Strategic Style Expressive and Rebellious	 Conformist and Withdrawn	Total
Low	9	9	18
Medium and High	18	4	22
Total	27	13	40

p level .04*

TABLE 4.3

Strategic Style versus Hookey

Hookey	Strategic Style Expressive and Rebellious	Conformist and Withdrawn	Total
Does Not Hook	14	12	26
Hooks	23	5	28
Total	37	17	54

p level .047*

TABLE 4.4a

Strategic Style versus Non-School Hot Water

Non-school Hot Water--Weighted Frequency of FC's Participation in Activities Likely to Get Him in Trouble Outside of School	Strategic Style Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	Withdrawn	Total
Low	8	10	1	14	5	38
High	11	6	5			22
Total	19	16	6	14	5	60

p level .000***

TABLE 4.4b

Strategic Style versus Non-School Hot Water

Non-School Hot Water	Strategic Style: Expressive and Rebellious	Strategic Style: Conformist and Withdrawn	Total
Low	19	19	38
High	22	0	22
Total	41	19	60

p level .01**

TABLE 4.5

Strategic Style versus Commission of Specified Illegal Acts

Weighted Frequency of FC's Commission of Specified Illegal Acts	Strategic Style: Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	Withdrawn	Total
Low	7	9	1	12	5	34
Medium	8	4	1	2		15
High	4	3	4			11
Total	19	16	6	14	5	60

p level .005**

TABLE 4.6

Strategic Style versus Out of School Fighting

Out of School Fighting	Strategic Style					
	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	Withdrawn	Total
No Fighting	7	2	1	8	3	21
Low Fighting	5	6	2	4	1	18
High Fighting	7	8	3	2	1	21
Total	19	16	6	14	5	60

p level not significant

TABLE 4.7

Strategic Style versus Total Hot Water

Total Hot Water--Weighted Frequency of FC's Participation in Activities Likely to Get Him into Trouble In and Out of School	Strategic Style					
	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	Withdrawn	Total
Low	5	4		9	4	22
Medium	8	6	2	5	1	22
High	6	6	4			16
Total	19	16	6	14	5	60

p level .016*

TABLE 4.8

Strategic Style versus Perceived Magnitude Changes Desired by Peers

Perceived Magnitude Changes Desired By Peers	Strategic Style Expressive and Rebellious	Strategic Style Conformist and Withdrawn	Total
Major	2	6	8
Minor	30	13	43
Total	32	19	51

p level .05*

TABLE 4.9

Strategic Style versus 1967 Grades

1967 Grades	Strategic Style Expressive and Rebellious	Strategic Style Conformist and Withdrawn	Total
Failing or D	6	0	6
C or Better	30	17	47
Total	36	17	53

p level .05*

tended to drop out earlier than "conformist" and "withdrawn" FC's (r=.61; significant at the .01 level); second, there was a positive correlation between the "rebellious-expressive" end of the strategic style continuum and dropping out (r=.43; significant at the .01 level).

Hypothesis III

The greater the congruence of characterizations of the adolescent boy by adult reference individuals with those made of him by contemporary reference individuals (including both peers and siblings), the clearer and more stable (positive or negative) the adolescent's self-concept will be.

We felt it was more important to look at consistencies or inconsistencies as well as the magnitude of "severity" of changes desired by different (adult and contemporary) reference figures as judged by the FC, as opposed to looking at the content of these changes. It was felt that satisfaction with self or self-esteem would be more powerfully affected by a sense that significant others either agreed or disagreed as to the extent to which they wanted FC to change his personality or behavior; thus, we looked at consensus-versus-dissensus of parents' and contemporary reference figures' desired changes and, in addition, noted whether or not these perceived changes represented major or minor alterations of FC's character. We predicted that consensus between parents and contemporary reference figures would be associated with either high or low self-esteem, depending on whether or not the changes were judged to be major or minor. In other words, the measure of congruence or consensus between parents on the one hand, peers and siblings on the other, was whether the FC perceived both his parents and his contemporary reference figures as wanting him to change in fundamental (major) or in minor ways. Similarly, lack of congruence or dissensus was scored simply when the FC described his parents as wanting him to change in major ways when his siblings and peers did not want him to change to that extent, and vice versa.

At the time Hypothesis III was formulated, we had hoped that it would be possible to code interviews for "clarity" of self-concept per se. This did not prove possible given the nature of the free responses obtained. Also since "stability" of self-concept was conceptualized longitudinally, that aspect of the hypothesis cannot be tested until the analysis of Time 2 findings is complete.

In constructing Table 4.10, we assumed that consensus about major changes would be related to low self-esteem while consensus about minor changes would relate to high self-esteem.

In accordance with this assumption, we found that none of the FC's rated as high in self-esteem who fell into the "consensus" category thought that parents and peers desired major changes of them. However, approximately half of the low self-esteem FC's in the "consensus" category were characterized by the perception that major changes were desired of them by reference figures. A more detailed look into the content and meaning of these desired changes for these FC's will be necessary in order to further explicate this finding.

We tested this by grouping those FC's who were on the positive and negative (high and low) extremes on a trichotomized distribution of self-esteem scores, classifying them as to whether or not they perceived parents and peers as desiring a similar magnitude of changes from them and comparing them with the group of FC's who scored in the middle range on the self-esteem scale, similarly classified as to parent-peer/sibling consensus or dissensus. Table 4.10 indicates that while middle range self-esteem scores are distributed almost equally in terms of perceived parent-peer/sibling agreement, there are six times as many extreme self-esteem scores associated with parent-peer consensus as there are with dissensus.

TABLE 4.10

Self-Esteem versus Agreement Among Reference Figures

	Self-Esteem (Trichotomized)		
Agreement Among Reference Figures	High and Low Extremes	Middle Range	Total
Parent-Peer Consensus	18	19	37
Parent-Peer Dissensus	3	18	21
Total	21	37	58

p level .02*

To summarize the results of our tests of Hypothesis III, we found that FCs' perceptions of parent-peer consensus on the magnitude of behavioral and personality changes desired of them was more frequent among FC's who scored on the extremes of the self-esteem scale. In particular, we found that FC's who perceived parents, peers, and siblings to be agreed on their need for major changes tended to be on the "low extreme" of the self-esteem scale; in other words, an FC who perceives reference figures as generally unaccepting of him "as he is" is likely to be low in self-esteem.

In order to better approximate "clarity" of self-concept, we scored available figure drawings on Witkin's (1962, pp. 70-71, 118-123, 193-203) "sophistication-of-body-concept" dimension and performed a similar analysis, grouping extremes together against the middle category and classifying in terms of consensus and dissensus of changes desired by reference figures. The resulting Table 4.11 shows a similar though non-significant trend (missing the .05 level by only one case). We will in later reports further explore this relationship by utilizing scoring obtained by responses for another of Witkin's dimensions, "uniqueness of self-concept."

TABLE 4.11

Sophistication of Body Concept versus

Agreement Among Reference Figures

	Sophistication of Body Concept (Trichotomized)		
Agreement Among Reference Figures	Extremes Well and Poorly Articulated	Average Articulation	Total
Consensus	19	9	28
Dissensus	7	10	17
Total	26	19	45

p level not significant

Hypothesis IV

On the basis of the general literature in this area, in addition to pilot interviewing and experience within black communities, we predicted that:

Boys with a strong sense of racial identity (even militance) will be less likely to think of themselves and whites in terms of racial stereotypes; they will be more comfortable and more willing to move in the social and physical environment of the "white world."

The first part of the hypothesis, that a strong sense of racial identity would be associated with the tendency to eschew racial stereotypes when describing whites or blacks, proved difficult to test; since many of the generalizations which focals made about both blacks and whites seemed to be at once stereotypic, and yet at the same time, to reflect either socioeconomic or subcultural realities. We, therefore, found it impossible to construct codes sensitive enough to test the prediction. Further, because so many of the stereotypes seemed "true," we are no longer convinced that, even given a highly sensitive code, one would be able to discriminate a stereotypic response from one which was a "real" description of racial differences. The codes which emerged from relevant questions ("What is the difference between white kids you know and Negro kids you know?" and "What are the differences between Negro people and white people in general?") concentrated on whether or not FC saw differences between blacks and whites and, if he did, did he attempt to explain the differences.

The second part of the hypothesis, the prediction that racial identity would be positively associated with willingness to move in the white world, was confirmed, as Table 4.12 shows.

TABLE 4.12

Combined Racial Identity versus FC's Willingness To Move in a White World

FC's Willingness to Move in a White World	Combined Racial Identity Low	High	Total
Low/Medium	24	13	37
High	8	14	22
Total	32	27	59

p level .05*

In thinking about this relationship more fully, we realize that we had made another implicit prediction that racial identity would also be associated with system open-closed, such that FCs with a higher level of racial identity would tend to see the opportunity structure as relatively closed to black people. This proved not to be the case; the obtained correlation was close to zero. However, on the basis of the association between (combined) racial identity and willingness to move in the white world we became suspicious of the "non-relationship" and decided to check as to whether the proportion of FCs with high racial identity who also showed willingness to move in the white world would be greater for those who tended to see the system as closed than for those who saw the system as open. This did not seem paradoxical as we felt that this same sort of knowledge of where an individual stands racially, as is evidenced by a high racial identity score, would also be reflected in the perception (i.e., knowledge) that the opportunity structure is still relatively closed for blacks, and that, armed with this knowledge of the real probabilities and the positive sense of group identity, an individual would feel more willing to take his chances within and around "the white world". We dichotomized (combined) racial identity scores and ran them against willingness to move for both "system open" and "system closed" FCs. Table 4.13 shows that there was no significant association between the two variables for the system-open group.

TABLE 4.13

Of Those FCs Who See System as Open: FC's Willingness to Move in the White World Vs Combined Racial Identity

	Of Those FCs Who See System as Open: FC's Willingness to Move in the White World		
Combined Racial Identity	High	Low	Total
High	5	7	12
Low	7	8	15
Total	12	15	27

p level not significant

However Table 4.14 indicates that the lack of association between racial identity and system open-closed is only true of the system-open groups; for the "system closed" group there is a significant association in the expected direction.

TABLE 4.14

Of Those FCs Who See System as Closed: FC's Willingness to Move in the White World Vs Combined Measure of Racial Identity

	Of Those FCs Who See System as Closed: FC's Willingness to Move in the White World		
Combined Measure of Racial Identity	High	Low	Total
High	11	3	14
Low	7	11	18
Total	18	14	32

p level .05*

The basic prediction underlying Hypothesis IV is that a sense of "blackness" would facilitate willingness to move in the dominant culture. This was further borne out in an unexpectedly literal sense when we found that FC's perceived relative skin shade (a weighted measure based on his perception of whether he was lighter, darker, or the same skin shade as his family and his friends) was also significantly related to willingness to move in the white world as Table 4.15 shows.

TABLE 4.15

FC's Willingness to Move in a White World Vs FC's Perceived Relative Skin Shade

	FC's Willingness to Move in a White World		
FC's Perceived Relative Skin Shade	Low and Medium	High	Total
Lighter and same	27	9	36
Darker	10	13	23
Total	37	22	59

p level .05*

Hypothesis V

A child's educational and occupational expectations should not only be affected by the demographic status of his or her family but also by the history of the ethnic, religious and racial subgroups to which the family belongs, and, most important, by the educational and vocational experience and strivings of the parents and other close adult relatives. The great depression of the thirties and forties, for example, introduced insecurities in some hitherto comfortable middle class families, the resonances of which seem to have become an important though unarticulated part of the context of the ambitions for even their grandchildren a generation later (Terkel, 1970). Similarly, the one good job a father has had some time ago during an unstable and unsatisfactory career could turn out to be the one that was most meaningful to him and the one his children are most impressed by. In the situations most black Americans face, where job histories are less likely to reflect character, talents and training than racial discrimination, poor vocational training opportunities and cyclical needs of large corporate employers, we would expect the parents' reaction to their school and work experience to be a powerful determinent of their childrens' ambitions. Even before the fact, we had no basis for predicting in what direction such effects would operate - whether a father's job dissatisfaction would be communicated as to motivate the child to higher aspirations or whether the fact that the father expressed some degree of contentment with his work could act as a more secure base from which the son's ambitions could rise. Therefore the fifth hypothesis was formulated in a non-directional way:

Parents' expression of general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their life roles (including occupational status), will better predict their sons' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations than will parents' present income or occupational status.

This hypothesis was tested by comparing the intercorrelations between the FC's perception of father's job satisfaction, father's income and occupational variables related to FC's educational and occupational attitudes. When we want to understand FC's aspirations, we feel it is more useful to look at father's job satisfaction than at his actual occupation or income because more is communicated to FC by his father's feelings about and reactions to his work than by his job title or its prestige in the dominant society. In addition, we believe that demographic factors associated with FC's job choices will more likely be related to his second job choices rather than his first job choice. Briefly, our argument rests on the notion, supported by the pilot interviewing, that the first job choice offered by black youth to interviewers was, in some cases, likely to be elevated by a combination of wanting to seem worthwhile to the interviewer and hopefulness (rather than optimism) and that the second job choice ("Let's say that, for some reason, you couldn't be a ________, what would be your second choice?") might be less subject to these "elevating" influences, and therefore might be expected to correlate more highly with father-related job variables and less highly with the perception of father's job satistaction than would first job choice. It is interesting to note that most researchers as for example, Antonovsky and Lerner (1959), have stressed the high vocational aspiration level of black youth, which was viewed as particularly striking in view of the limited job opportunities open to them and often "diagnosed" as unrealistic. We are suggesting that the job choices elicited in previous research may not have been the subject's "real" job choices, may not have expressed the low expectations and doubts of self which have developed in response to the occupational facts of life for citizens of our ghettos.

The pattern of intercorrelations shown in Table 4.16 generally confirms Hypothesis V. Father's job satisfaction was significantly related to FC's school expectations, his assessment of whether he could attain his ideal job, the SES level of his (most disliked) "negative" job, and two measures of his perception of the job his father would like him to hold when he grows up. There were no significant correlations between father's job satisfaction and FC's school aspirations and expectations nor were there obtained any between FC-related occupational aspiration variables and variables which were related to father's job or income. Neither FC's ideal job SES nor the "prestige" and "status" measures of FC's first job choice were related to any of the variables under scrutiny. The directionality of significant correlations is of interest since, with one exception, they indicate that it is father's perceived job dissatisfaction, rather than satisfaction which is related to higher levels of expectation and aspiration: the more the father is perceived as dissatisfied with his work, the more likely FC is to have higher school expectations (r=-.39), to feel that he can reach his ideal job (r=-.37), and to perceive his father as wanting him to attain a higher occupational level [r(prestige)= .47, r(status) = -.51]. The only exception is with father's negative job choice for FC which refers to FC's perception of the job his father would most dislike him to have; in this case, the higher the father's perceived job satisfaction, the more likely that the job FC perceives his father as not wanting him to have is of a higher SES level. We had originally included negative job choice because we thought the negative job choice might symbolize the context of the focal's occupational securities or anxieties which could act either as a floor or a goad to job aspirations since the question often elicits the specific job or type of job which a person most fears sinking into. We expected that parents who were more secure about their social and occupational status would be perceived as less concerned about their sons having low level, possibly degrading jobs than less secure parents. In this particular case, the expectation was supported:

the greater the father's perceived job satisfaction, the higher is the level of his negative job nomination as perceived by FC. These findings and the bases of our predictions are reviewed and elaborated in Chapter 11.

TABLE 4.16

Intercorrelations of Perceived Job Satisfaction of Father, Related Demographic Variables, and FC School and Vocational Attitudinal Variables*

Variable	F's Job Satisfaction (v.140)	F's Job Prestige from FC (v.151)	F's Job SES from FC (v.233)	F's Job SES (v.215)	Per Capita Income After Rent (v.130)
FC's School Expectations (v.157)	-39	03	03	-02	-04
FC's School Aspirations (v.158)	-27	-20	-21	-22	04
FC's First Job Choice - Prestige (v.141)	10	10	11	-12	-09
FC's First Job Choice - Status (v.142)	-00	01	02	-15	-10
FC's Second Job Choice - Prestige (v.143)	-03	40*	02	03	-29*
FC's Second Job Choice - SES (v.144)	12	44**	43**	11	-27
FC's Ideal Job (v.150)	14	-01	-01	-04	19
Could FC Reach Ideal Job (v.156)	-37*	10	-09	03	08
Father's Negative (Disliked) Job (v.147)	50*	11	14	40	08
Father's 1st Job Choice for FC - Prestige (v.145)	-47*	-25	14	-06	-15
Father's 1st Job Choice for FC - Status (v.220)	-51*	-30	-31	21	-09
Father's Job SES From FC (v.233)	42**	997**	---	47**	-21

Hypothesis VI

The availability of an adult, male role model (whether present father, absent father, uncle, older brother, etc.) will better

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* Variable numbers refer to correlation matrix; (except in one case) r to nearest hundredth; decimal points omitted.

predict to the adolescent boy's sense of personal and racial identity, school performance, and aspirations than will father-absence per se.

Table 4.17 compares the intercorrelations of *father-absence* and *availability of male models* with six variables related to individual and group identity, school performance and aspirations. In no case were significant correlations obtained between father-absence and the criterion variables. On the other hand, *availability of male models* was positively related to both *self-esteem* and *knowledge of Negro groups and leaders*. No significant correlations were obtained with *(combined) racial identity*, dropping out or school aspirations. However, a stepwise discriminant analysis showed *availability of male models* to be one of the most powerful of five variables which, in combination, successfully predicted 84% of those who had dropped out by June, 1969 (See Chapter 10). Although no relationship was found between *availability of male models* and *(combined) racial identity*, the predicted association between racial identity and *availability of male models* received both direct support from the association with *knowledge of Negro groups and leaders* and inferential support from intercorrelations obtained with a related variable, *number of male models chosen*. The latter, which correlates .49 (significant at the .01 level) with *availability of male models*, also correlates .29 (significant at the .05 level) with *race of famous models*, indicating that the more FC is able to identify with the male models in his own life, the more likely he is to identify with a famous black contemporary or historical personage.

TABLE 4.17

Correlations Between Father-Absence, Availability of Male Models and Aspects of Identity, School Performance and Aspirations

Variable	Father Absence	Availability of Male Models
Self Esteem	-02	29*
Knowledge of Negro Groups and Leaders	07	28*
(Combined) Racial Identity	-14	07
June, 1969 Grades	-09	-39*
Dropout or Stay-in School	-02	-00
School Aspirations	-12	-17

Hypothesis VII

An individual's sense of control over his environment or life is not necessarily a unitary trait in all persons, but may operate differentially in different areas of activity. Boys who have a high sense of internal control in a given area (e.g., relations with girls, street life, school, hustling) will express higher expectations and aspirations in that area, than in other coping areas. Consequently, if change occurs, it is more likely to occur in "high control" rather than "low control" areas.

Limitations of available data, particularly the difficulties we had in assessing aspirations and competence in areas such as street life, informal sports, and heterosexual relationships together with the fact that Time 2 "change" data could not be collected within the scope of funds and time, have restricted our ability to tell all aspects of hypothesis VII.

However, we were able to test the prediction that FCs who considered school work a major area of competence and control would tend to have higher education expectations and aspirations and would stay in school longer than those FCs who considered a particular kind of non-school work as embodying a major area of competence and who might be expected to have lower school aspirations and, possibly, higher work aspirations and whom we expected to drop out of school sooner. The FCs involved in the comparison were limited to those for whom either school work was a highly valued area in which they felt they excelled their peers, and in which their competence was perceived as the result of abilities they had some control over rather than as arising by default, through the relative inferiority of others, or through luck or fate.

The prediction of relative differences in academic and vocational aspirations was not confirmed: there were no statistically significant differences between the two groups in comparisons involving nine relevant variables (school aspirations, school expectations, discrepancy between school aspirations and expectations, college orientations, first job choice, clarity of conception of first job choice, SES, negative job choice rank, ideal job, and discrepancy between ideal job and expected job attainment). If anything, there was a nonsignificant tendency for work-oriented FCs to have lower first job choices than school-oriented FCs, a trend which, on second thought, is not surprising.

The prediction that FCs who localized competence in school work would tend to stay in school while those who localized their competence in work would drop out was strikingly confirmed, albeit with a small sub-sample. As Table 4.18 shows, 16 out of 18 or almost 89% of the school-oriented FCs were still in school as of June 1969, while all 5 of the work-oriented FCs had dropped out.

TABLE 4.18

Comparison of Differential Dropout Rates Associated With School and Work as Specific Areas of Competence and Control

Dropout, Stay in	School-Oriented	Work-Oriented	Total
In School	16	0	16
Out of School	2	5	7
Total	18	5	23

p level .004**

Hypothesis VIII

Diffuse personal identity will be associated with conflict and ambiguity in other areas (e.g., uncertainty about future family, occupational choice, educational prospects, etc.).

We were, to say the least, over-optimistic regarding our ability to operationalize "diffuse personal identity" and therefore have not been able to test Hypothesis VIII.

CHAPTER 5

DIFFERENCES ASSOCIATED WITH AGE AND GRADE

Age

The younger FC's in this sample come less frequently from extended families (.31), have higher school aspirations (.32), drop out earlier (-.53), have higher vocabulary IQ subtest scores (.36), and are less willing to fantasize taking a pill which would turn all persons in the United States black (.34). The younger drop-out correlations is undoubtedly due to the fact that the ninth grade sample represents focals who have chosen not to drop out and could not obviously drop out of school until a later grade. Interestingly, there were no significant relationships between age and any of the "hot water" variables.

Grade

The ninth graders in the study had significantly higher total IQ scores as well as higher verbal and performance subscale scores than did the seventh graders. This may be a function of our hitting upon an atypical sample of ninth graders; it may instead reflect an increment in performance associated with increasing socialization or some other factor. It is difficult to tell which. Some writers (e.g., Deutsch, 1963) have reported a decrement in IQ scores of black youth over time, while Henning and Levy (1967) depict in tabular form, without comment, a tendency for mean IQ scores for both white and black delinquent groups to rise with age.

The seventh graders tend to come less frequently from extended families (-.26), to have lower school expectations (.35) (though higher school aspirations), to fight more outside of school (-.44), to feel competence in more specific areas or activities (-.41), to feel less willingness to move in the white world (.28), and to know less about black culture (.45). One relationship appeared in the cross-tabs, though not as a significant correlation: Table 5.1 shows that playing hookey intensifies with grade.

TABLE 5.1

Playing Hookey versus Grade in School

Grade in School	How Often Does FC Play Hookey			
	Never	Once or Twice	Often	Total
Seventh	20	8	2	30
Ninth	6	9	9	24
Total	26	17	11	54

p level .003**

CHAPTER 6

SOME EFFECTS OF INTRA-CLASS DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES ON OTHER VARIABLES

(The following discussion will be mainly a summary of some obtained correlations which will be discussed at greater lengths in later chapters; all correlations cited fall at or below the .05 level of significance. If the text refers to a positive correlation but a negative correlation appears in parentheses, the reader can assume that the discrepancy is simply an artifact of coding.)

Father's education is positively correlated with *performance IQ* (.40), though not with the Verbal Subscale. This correlation with performance IQ is most important for with it we get the first hint of a complex relationship between father-relevant variables, performance IQ, aspects of self-concept, and school performance, a relationship we will attempt to trace out in Chapters 7 and 10. In addition, father's education is positively correlated with the SES level of FC's ideal job choice (.38), and with the tendency for FC to have higher educational aspirations than expectations (.42).

Examining *mother's education*, we find that the *higher the education level*, the more likely FC is to characterize the *quality of his family life* positively (.33) and both to feel that he has *males available to him as models* (.29) and actually to choose them as models for identification (.48). He will also tend to be more independent from parental values in the sense that he will not want to change in ways he feels his parents want him to change (-.32) and will portray himself as an initiator of interpersonal activities who feels he can change for the better in areas important to him (*self-concept*, .32). All of the findings relevant to mother's education show that the higher the level of mother's education, the more positive is FC's familial situation, the more supportive it is in providing models for identification, and, perhaps, for later independence.

Parents' Occupation

Father's occupational level yielded significant correlations in several areas. Most importantly, there is a positive relationship between father's SES and (*combined*) *racial* identity (.32). This association is sharpened when we examine father's job level: in this case, militant racial identity, a component of the (combined) racial identity index, correlates positively (.36) with father's job level and also with willingness to push a button so that all Americans would turn black (-.37). This suggests that racial militance does not arise simply out of socio-economic frustration. But only case studies can adequately illustrate the dynamisms at work. A significant positive correlation was also obtained between SES of father's job and SES level of FC's second job choice (.43), as we reported in Chapter 4. Significant positive correlations were also found between SES of father's job and mother's education as well as FC's perception that peers and siblings accept him without wanting him to undergo major behavioral or personality changes (-.38).

There is some evidence that scholastic behavioral problems are associated with father's low occupational status. Table 6.1 shows that FC's whose fathers have higher SES level occupations are apt to be lower in school defiance than those whose fathers are lower SES, either unskilled workers or "operatives."

TABLE 6.1

School Defiance versus Father's Occupation

Father's Job: Social-Economic Status	FC's Defiance of School Authorities And Destruction of School Property		
	Low Defiance	High Defiance	Total
Unskilled/Operative	6	9	15
Craftsman	12	1	13
Total	18	10	28

p level .005**

The prestige scale level of mother's occupation correlates positively with Total WAIS or WISC IQ (.52), the Verbal IQ subtest (.56), recency of father's absence from the household (.67), FC's repeating grades in school (.44), general knowledge about

Negro culture (.50), the tendency for FC to be an initiator who thinks about other people's motives and feelings and who differentiates among them (self-concept = .44); with distinctions between others (.44), with introspectiveness (.62). The SES scale for mother's occupation correlates positively with father's occupation (SES) (.47), (inexplicably) repeating grades (.41), introspectiveness (.53), and FC's judgment that he can change for the better in areas which he values but in which he feels less competent than he wants to be (-.43). Mothers of higher occupational SES are also more likely to be the mothers of reactors who can change than reactors who feel they cannot. The bulk of these findings indicate that the higher the level of the mother's occupation, the more likely her son will be "complex" in terms of cognitive style.

It is important to review the context of correlations obtained with respect to IQ: father's educational level correlates positively with FC's Performance IQ (.40) but not with the verbal; mother's occupational (prestige) level correlates positively with FC's Verbal IQ (.56). No other demographic or familial variables correlate significantly with either Verbal or Performance IQ. In the chapters on self-concept and school variables, we will further examine these relationships. It does seem as though the level of FC's Performance IQ is somehow associated with characteristics of the father. Both the association of the mother's occupational level with Verbal IQ and the significant positive correlations between the vocabulary subtest and grade in school suggest that Verbal IQ may be greatly influenced by environmental factors probably involving degree of socialization. (The difference between age and grade-related correlates of IQ scores strongly supports this speculation. The magnitude of IQ scores of Total and Subscale IQ scores and scores of certain subtests--information, object assembly, and coding--increases with FC's grade but not his age. This can't be explained by positing that FC's with lower IQ's have dropped out before ninth grade since there are no significant correlations between dropping out and total IQ or the Verbal or Performance subscales.) Together with the relationship between father's occupational level and Performance IQ, these correlations could be taken at least to hint at some powerful socio-environmental contributions to the kind of performance which is measured by the WAIS and the WISC.

It is interesting to make note of other trends emerging from these correlations: there is an association of demographic characteristics of the mother with favorableness of the family environment, with aspects of masculine identification, and with cognitive style, whereas father-related characteristics seem to be associated with social status--educational and vocational achievements and aspirations, mobility strivings, and group (racial rather than individual) identity.

Family Income

Two variables relate to family income: family weekly income and monthly per capita income after rent. (The correlation between these being only .27). Family weekly income is positively associated with the presence of FC's biological father in the house (.38). A negative correlation which was obtained between father's job satisfaction and family weekly income (-.35) is difficult to explain, but interview material suggests it may be a function of the fact that the father who must make more money to support many children often must do this through working overtime at a job in which he is underemployed, or by holding two or more jobs simultaneously.

As with family weekly income, per capita monthly income correlates negatively with only two variables besides family size (-.42) and number of siblings (-.42). The higher the family's per capita income, the lower the prestige of FC's second job choice (-.29); the lower the monthly per capita income, the more likely is FC to stay in school (-.36).

A.D.C.

Since mothers who receive Aid for Dependent Children come from husbandless households, variables correlating significantly with A.D.C. also correlate with father-absence; therefore, we will discuss them below in Chapter 7 when dealing with family background. The one exception is that the older boys in the sample tend to have mothers who are on A.D.C. (.27); usually they are also from families in which the FC's father was present until his adolescence.

Housing Condition

Housing condition relates to only one variable significantly, namely monthly per capita income, as shown in Table 6.2. It should not be surprising that the housing conditions of black people should be associated with their economic status.

TABLE 6.2

Condition of Housing versus Monthly Per Capita Income After Rent

Monthly Per Capita Income After Rent (Dichotomy)	Condition of Housing		
	Poor	Satisfactory	Total
Low	17	9	26
High	5	20	25
Total	22	29	51

P level .003**

CHAPTER 7

EFFECTS ASSOCIATED WITH FAMILY STRUCTURE

Variables Related to Family Size and Position in Family

(All correlations cited are at the .05 level or less.)

Extended Family

The supportive role of the extended family in the development of black youth and as a resource, particularly for the unwed or separated mother, has received much attention. The designation of extended family in the Pathway's sample was made simply by asking each interviewer to specify which of the families he or she was working with seemed to have a supportive network of other adults or older adolescents, not necessarily blood relations, who lived outside the household. The judgment was based not on the availability of "extended family members" but on whether family members actually were supported or cared for in some important psychological or physical sense by such persons.

The obtained correlates of extended family give a mixed picture of its supportive implications. FC's from families characterized as extended tend to have first job choices of lower SES levels (.26) and lower perceived job preferences by mothers (.41). We would hazard that many of the cases which account for these two correlations involve father-absent, extended families of non-working mothers in which the mother's usually higher occupational aspirations for her son* are depressed due to increased "pessimism" or realism about the occupational situation, which is communicated by members of the extended family. (If these correlations reflect a realistic pessimism based on knowledge of the opportunity structure and do not go along with decreased strivings, then they may turn out to be helpful to the child rather than exercising a depressing effect.) Coming from an extended family is also significantly related (.36) to getting higher grades in 1968, but since there are several other variables which correlate with 1968 grades but not with grades of any other year, we are not able to tell at this point whether this correlation really represents the effects of other variables, as yet undertermined. The weight of the data does suggest that extended families may indeed perform an important supportive function for the young black male in the development of his competence and his individual identitifications and group (racial) identity: extended family is associated with higher school group IQ (.63), higher self-esteem (-.27), and (combined) racial identity (-.30) as well as with a higher "floor" of father's perceived negative job choice. There is a suggestion that extended families may function, for the father-absent adolescent, in both a compensatory way and also to facilitate identification with male models because FC's coming from an extended family is more likely for the father-absent focal if the absence has been relatively recent [i.e., since FC's adolescence (-.39)]. Coming from an extended family is also associated with FC's having a greater number of siblings (-.34) and more male models available for identification, whether older brothers or other adults (-.38).

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* A t-test comparing the means for mothers' and fathers' job choices for FC's (as perceived by the FC's) showed mothers' perceived job choices for their sons to be significantly higher than the fathers' perceived job choices.

Family Size

The larger families in the study tend to be families which are either intact or in which the separation of the father is relatively recent, the correlation of recency of father-absence and family size being .54. The higher number of male models available associated with family size (.44) is obviously a function of more frequent contacts with the father (.53)-- as a result of his more recent departure - and FC's having more older male siblings who could serve as objects of identification (.81). FCs from larger families are likely to have lower school aspirations (-.28) and to drop out of school rather than to stay in (.30). They are also more likely to identify with the father in occupational choice (.32), but, consequently, to perceive their fathers as not wanting them to take low status jobs, the correlation with father's perceived negative job choice being -.52. To summarize, two generalizations can tentatively be offered here: first, that coming from a large family may lower school aspirations and be associated with some anxiety about the dangers of falling into a degrading occupation, possibly because of the privations the family has endured; secondly, and related to the first, a hint that the son may pay a price for identification with his father occupationally because of the low skill and prestige associated with the father's work. Other results described below should contribute to this picture.

Position in Family

Position in family has important correlates in aspects of school achievement, job aspirations and with personality attributes. Other evidence which suggests that IQ scores obtained from this sample are influenced by environment in important ways can be found in correlations between WAIS or WISC IQ and position in family: youngest or only children have higher full-scale IQ scores than older or middle children (-.32), mainly on the basis of the Verbal Subscale (-.34). Though position in family does not correlate with grades in 1967 and 1968 or with dropping out, there is a positive correlation with 1969 grades (.45), and this is in spite of the fact that older children are apt to show more defiance in school than are younger (.30). Kluckholn and Strodtbeck (1961) have indicated in cross-cultural studies that the oldest child often carries the familial hopes for success. Although we do not get an indication that this is true in our sample from FC's first job choice or his perception of paternal or maternal job aspirations for him, it does receive partial confirmation from a .36 correlation between position in family and level of ideal job aspirations.

Though each of the following family-position-versus-self-concept tables reaches the .05 level of significance, none of them shows a striking systematic effect of all the family position categories with the exception of the only child who generally appears on the less-adaptive and content ends of many of the continua of the research (if we can dare to say such a thing when there are only three only children in the sample). Table 7.1, comparing Strategic Style against Family Position, shows that only two out of the three only children are in the withdrawn group--the other one a cool guy. Most of the conformists are middle children as are the cool guys. All of the tough guys are either youngest or middle children. Probably the largest proportion of oldest children are in the smart guy category.

Table 7.2 indicates that not only do the only children tend to be withdrawn but that all of them are reactors who cannot change, who are not introspective and who tend not to make distinctions among other persons important to them on the "spy question." All of the youngest and the great majority of the oldest children tend to think that they can change for the better in areas which they value and in which they feel they need to improve; approximately half of them also tend to be initiators (in the initiator or residual categories). Middle children tend to be predominantly reactive (25/38) and, along with only children, have the smallest proportion of pure initiators in their group.

TABLE 7.1

Strategic Style versus Family Position

FC's Position In Family	Strategic Style Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	Withdrawn	Total
Only Child	1				2	3
Youngest Child	3	2	2	1		8
Middle Child	13	7	4	11	2	37
Oldest Child	2	7		2	1	12
Total	19	16	6	14	5	60

p level .012*

TABLE 7.2

Composite Self-Concept Versus Position in Family

FC's Position in Family	Composite Self-Concept Reactors Who Can't Change	Reactors Who Can Change	Residual	Initiators	Total
Only Child	3				3
Youngest Child		4		3	7
Middle Child	12	13	9	4	38
Oldest Child	1	4	4	3	12
Total	16	21	13	10	60

p level .021*

Table 7.3, FC's Position in Family versus Self-Esteem, shows slightly clearer positional effects. All three of the only children are low in self-esteem. Only one of the eleven only and youngest children are high on the (trichotomized) self-esteem scales and almost half (5) score on the low extremes. The fact that the highest proportion of FC's on the high self-esteem scale (10 out of 11) come from the middle and oldest child categories suggests that they may benefit from their status as relative seniors to their siblings.

TABLE 7.3

Self-Esteem versus Position in Family

	Self-Esteem			
FC's Position in Family	Low	Medium	High	Total
Only Child	3			3
Youngest Child	2	5	1	8
Middle Child	6	25	7	38
Oldest Child	2	7	3	12
Total	13	37	11	61

p level .053*

When we consider the magnitude of personality or behavioral change that FC perceives his most important reference figures as wanting from him, Table 7.4, the picture that emerges of the only children is bleakly sharpened--they seem to be withdrawn, reactive youngsters with little sense of control over their destinies, little self-satisfaction and also with the perception that reference figures do not esteem them as they are but want to change them in major ways. Both youngest and oldest children tend to perceive the average reference figure as wanting only minor behavioral changes, while middle children, next to only children, have the largest representation among those who perceive reference figures as desiring major changes.

TABLE 7.4

Changes FC Perceives As Desired of Him versus Position in Family

FC's Position in Family	Changes FC Thinks His Mother, Father, Siblings, Peers Want Him to Make (Average) Minor Changes	Major Changes	Total
Only Child		3	3
Youngest Child	7	1	8
Middle Child	26	12	38
Oldest Child	11	1	12
Total	44	17	61

p level .011*

Father-Absence, Availability of Male Models, and Related Variables

Because of the controversy over the role of the father in low income black families, the myths and conflicting or equivocal research findings (see Herzog, in Guttentag, 1970), we have utilized a number of variables in order to trace better the relative contribution of the father, potential father surrogates, and other potential male identificatory models to the behavior and self-concept of the male black adolescent. Though this section deals mainly with variables involving *males*, we should stress here, as we have earlier in the discussion of the literature on father-absence, that we do not view a "masculine" identification as solely the endowment of males to other males. Indeed, in Chapter 5, we indicated that there were reasons to believe that characteristics of the mother (in that particular case, demographic--her education) were positively associated with the availability or choice of male models.

The variables under scrutiny in this section are: *father-absence*, *length of father-absence*, *frequency with which FC sees absent father*, *thumbnail sketch of father*, *relationship* with father or father surrogate in or out of house, availability of male models, number of males chosen (as potential models), sex of models, race of famous model.

Variables Relevant to FC's Relationship With Father

An FC is coded as father-absent in this study when his biological father was not, at the time of the interview, living in the same household. If the boy lived with a stepfather or someone he viewed as a father, he was still viewed as father-absent for this particular variable. Relationship with the father represents a global coding of the nature and tone of FC's depiction of his relationship with his biological father, whether or not the father lives in the household, and independent of the frequency of contact between father and sons. Availability of male models and number of males chosen refers to the presence of older males in the life of the boy, whether or not he has a father or father surrogate, whether or not the other person lives in the same household with him or is related to him. Several runs were made using a variable which combined relationship with father and relationship with a stepfather or father-surrogate. In spite of the fact that approximately half of our sample came from father-absent homes, only one-sixth of the sample had no active relationships with either their "own" biological father or with someone they perceived as acting like a father (in terms of responsibility as well as interaction) to them.

In the following discussion and in general, we will mainly refer to cross-tabs to permit the reader to get a sense of the distributions involved in obtained relationships, but significant correlation coefficient will be cited when cross-tabs were either not performed, did not show clear effects or when correlations would be helpful in making sense of the data.

Father-Absence

As would be expected, father-absence correlates with FC's mother being on A.D.C., with FC having a smaller number of close males (since the father is invariably cited as one of FC's closest males if he is in the house, regardless of whether FC's relationship with him is negative or positive) and with lower family income. Though father-absent FC's fight more outside of school (-.30), father-absence is not associated with any other of the five "hot water" variables.

One of the major personality correlates of father-absence is with the initiator-reactor dimension: Initiators tend to come from father-absent families (r=.28; see also

Table 7.5). The self-concept variable really represents a sharpening of the initiator-reactor distinction; it was constructed so as to maximize the distinction between, on the one hand reactors who "can't change," are not introspective, and are less inclined to perceive individual differences between different persons who are important in their lives (see Table 7.6) and, on the other hand, initiators who feel they can change for the better, and who tend to be more introspective.

TABLE 7.5

Initiator-Reactor versus Father-Presence or Absence

Father Present or Not	Initiator-Reactor		
	Reactor	Initiator	Total
Absent	16	14	30
Present	24	6	30
Total	40	20	60

p level .05*

TABLE 7.6

Distinctions Made Among Others

versus Father-Presence or Absence

Father Present or Not	Distinctions FC Makes Among Others		
	Few	Many	Total
Absent	18	12	30
Present	26	4	30
Total	44	16	60

p level .041*

Again, father-absence is associated with the initiative pole of the continuum. It is difficult to pinpoint the dynamics behind the relationship: why should father-absence breed initiators? One hunch we entertained to account for or to contribute to this result was that the initiators in the father-absent home might occupy familial roles in which one of two situations obtained: that they might have been older children who actively or passively were given more authority to initiate behavior, particularly with reference to younger siblings, and that they possibly were given other kinds of paternal or adult responsibility and prerequisites by their mother; or, that they might be youngest children who were indulged or permitted to have their own way. For the purpose of testing this speculation, we predicted that initiators who were from father-absent homes would tend to be oldest or youngest children, whereas the initiators from father-present homes would tend to be middle children, with other familial factors being associated with their "initiative" qualities. As Table 7.7 indicates, this prediction was confirmed. To get a better sense of the legitimacy of our interpretation that younger and older children might tend to be given their own way more or given more responsibility, we examined the relationship between position in family and perceived acceptance by reference figures, wondering whether we might also find that the magnitude of desired changes reference figures wanted from focals might be perceived to be lower by younger and older siblings than the level of change perceived by only children and middle siblings. This hunch was also sustained. As Table 7.7a indicates, there was a significant association obtained between position in family and perceived magnitude of changes desired by reference figures: only 10% of the youngest and oldest children perceived reference figures as wanting them to change in major areas of behavior or personality whereas approximately 37 percent of the only and middle children perceived reference figures as wanting major changes from them.

TABLE 7.7

Position in Family of Father-Present And Absent Initiators

Family Position	Father-Absent Initiators	Father-Present Initiators	Total
Youngest and Oldest Child	10	1	11
Middle Child	4	5	9
Total	14	6	20

p level .038*

TABLE 7.7a

Changes FC Perceives As Desired of Him versus Position in Family

FC's Position In Family	Changes FC Thinks His Mother, Father Siblings, Peers Want Him to Make (Average) Minor Changes	Major Changes	Total
Only Child		3	3
Youngest Child	7	1	8
Middle Child	26	12	38
Oldest Child	11	1	12
Total	44	17	61

p level .011*

Anecdotal material suggested that children might tend to idealize their absent father, so we ran father-absence against rated thumbnail sketches of the father. Although Table 7.8 does not yield a significant association between the two variables, examination of the absent father column gives some corroboration to our expectation: eight out of nine FC's whose fathers were absent depicted them very positively while the father-present sample showed no such difference. (A Fisher Exact Test performed on the extremes of Table 7.8 falls one case short of statistical significance.)

One of the most important and clear-cut associations which we obtained was between father-absence and FC's assessment of whether he could ever attain his ideal job choice. (See Table 7.9.) By a two to one margin those boys who feel either negative or uncertain about their capacities to attain their ideal job choices tend to be father-absent, while those FC's who feel confident that they can reach their vocational ideals tend to be father-present by a three to one margin. This table seems to bear out some of the initial trends observed in our pilot interviews when it began to look as though one of the major effects of father-presence was to give his son a greater sense of reality about the vocational world, a clearer and more developed sense of what jobs were like and what would have to be done in

TABLE 7.8

Father-Presence or Absence versus Sketch of Father

Sketch of Father	Father Present or Not Absent	 Present	 Total
Negative	1	7	8
Neutral	10	16	26
Positive	8	8	16
Total	19	31	50

p level not significant

TABLE 7.9

Attainment of Ideal Job Choice versus

Father-Presence or Absence

Father Present or Not	Can FC Attain Ideal Job Choice No/Maybe	 Yes	 Total
Absent	22	6	28
Present	11	18	29
Total	33	24	57

p level .01**

order to attain job preferences. It is important to note that the ideal job preferences of these father-present FC's were less likely to involve grandiose fantasies than those of the father-absent FC's (See also the discussion of Tables 7.30-7.32 below.) Our sense is that the father-present FC's greater confidence about attaining his ideal job choice is partially based on the father's contribution of relevant and instrumental information and anecdotes about work. Other associations which seem to corroborate this interpretation will be discussed in Chapter 11.

Earlier we spoke rather critically about studies which portrayed father-absent boys as either forming cross-sex identifications or overcompensating for the absence of a male model by "hyper-masculine" behavior. Our data reflect neither of these reactions strongly. However two findings do seem in accord with the notion that father-absence is related to "toughness." The first we have described earlier, namely, that there is a positive correlation between *father-absence* and *fighting*. The second is the association between *father-absence* and *strategic style*: when strategic styles are placed on a continuum based on the variation from expressive-impulsive to retentive-retreatist ("tough--smart--cool--conformist--withdrawn") there is a significant correlation (-.33) between the "tough-smart" end of the continuum and father-absence. In evaluating this data, it is important to remember that the "tough guys" only represent (approximately) one-fifth of the father-absent focals. Clearly, there is no general "machismo" or "feminization" effect such as some authors would have predicted. Table 7.10 gives the breakdown of strategic styles by father-absence and presence.

TABLE 7.10

Strategic Style versus Father-Presence or Absence

Father Present Or Not	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	With-Drawn	Total
Absent	10	12	4	1	3	30
Present	9	4	2	13	2	30
Total	19	16	6	14	5	60

p level .004**

There are clearly no important differences in frequency of father-absence associated with the *cool guy strategic* style or the *withdrawn*. However, *conformists* are preponderantly father-present while *smart guys* and *tough guys* are generally father-absent. (FC's whose assignment to those styles by their interviewers suggest that they were perceived as being extremely concerned with the adequacy in conveying an image of effectiveness and manliness, often, paradoxically, at the expense of effectiveness.)

In addition, we found that the dimensions of father-presence, nature of relationship with father, and self-esteem had a differential effect on initiators and reactors, as well as "can and can't change" subjects, in terms of staying in school. These findings will be described in detail below in Chapter 10; however, to summarize them in advance: for "reactors who can't change," relationship with father and father-presence is strongly linked to self-esteem. In addition, staying in school is strongly tied to the congruity of the nature of this relationship with self-esteem. These results suggest that at least for those subjects who are characterized by "reactivity," passivity, and a lack of control over molding their own lives, that staying in school is at least in part determined by the presence of a father who, it can be assumed, has the effect of asserting considerable control and/or influence over the life of his son, and the way his son feels about himself.

RELATIONSHIP WITH FATHER IN OR OUTSIDE THE HOUSE

Length of Father-Absence and Frequency of Contact with Absent Father

Most of the correlations between length of father absence and demographic variables have been presented previously. To summarize them, the longer the father has been living in the household to which FC belongs, the larger will be FC's family, the more likely will there be males available for identification (partially because FC will see his recently separated father more frequently, the correlation between length of father absence and frequency of contact with an absent father being .57), the more likely FC is to have an extended family (in the case of separation or divorce, often consisting of the father and his relatives). In line with our interpretation that father-presence (or contact with other males of working age) serves to "temper" the mother's occupational expectations for her son, there was a correlation of -.62 between the (prestige) level of mother's occupational choice for FC and length of time the father has been absent from the household to the effect that mother's job aspirations for her sons increase with the length of the father's absence.

Regarding the frequency of contact with a father who is not living at home, we find two important relationships with occupational aspirations and fears: first, the more often FC sees his absent father, the higher will be the level of his negative job choice (the correlation with the prestige scale is .47, with the SES scale, .53), i.e., the jobs FC would least like to have are higher in status and prestige, again providing modest support for our alternative hypothesis that higher-levels of negative job choice may be indicative of greater security vis-a-vis occupational prospects; second, the more contact there is between FC and his absent father, the more likely FC is to feel he can attain his ideal job choice (.48). In addition, the greater the contact with the absent father, the greater number of available male models he will cite (.50), though he will not necessarily identify with them, the correlation being .10, obviously not significant. Probably the most important correlate of frequency of contact with the father is with strategic style: not only is the frequency of father absence greater for FCs with what we have called expressive-impulsive strategic styles but, FCs characterized as "tough" and "smart" seem to have more contact with their absent fathers than do the "cool, withdrawn or conformist" FCs, (.37). One possible explanation for the linkage between strategic style and father-absence is contrary to the usual assumption which would have the "tougher" father-absent FCs maintaining infrequent contacts with their fathers, and not being able to form identifications with them. Perhaps they not only have a higher level of contact with their fathers but they may identify with fathers who are "running" on the street or exercising "machismo" in other ways perceptible to the son. To check this out we will of course have to go back to the individual case material, but it seems like an interesting possibility.

Relationship with Father in or out of House

Identity

The quality of FC's relationship with his father is associated with the kinds of individual and racial identifications he makes, the extent to which he feels supported by his family, personality attributes, school performance and aspects of achievement on IQ measures.

The more positive FC's relationship with his father regardless of whether they live in the same house or how frequently they see each other, the greater the number of males, related or unrelated to him, that FC feels are close to him (.31), the more likely he is to choose among them as models for identification (.37). Relationship with father is also significantly associated with FC's selection of a male rather than either a female or no model from within the family (Table 7.11).

TABLE 7.11

Sex of Family Member FC Wishes to be Like

Versus Relationship with Father

	Sex of Family Member FC Wishes to be Like		
Relationship with Father	No one or female	Male family member	Total
Positive	4	19	23
Negative or Neutral	9	9	18
Total	13	28	41

p level .05*

In Table 7.12 the data is analyzed as to whether or not FC has any famous, historical or contemporary model he would like to grow up to be like, independent of the race of the model. This table indicates that the more positive the relationship is with the father, the more likely FC is to identify with a famous model. Although the proportions of differences in frequencies are not striking, especially in the case of FCs who reported negative relationship with the father, the direction of differences in frequencies is consistent with the notion that positive relationship with a father facilitates identification with famous persons in history or contemporary life, and thereby may reduce FC's possible sense of rootlessness somewhat.

TABLE 7.12

Does FC Have a Famous Model Versus

Relationship with Present or Absent Father

Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father	Does FC Have a Famous Model? No Model	Has Model	Total
Negative	4	2	6
Neutral	4	9	13
Positive	3	24	27
Total	11	35	46

p level .012*

However, positive relationships with the father not only facilitate FC's having a famous model but increase the probability he will select a black model, correlation being .30 with race of famous model.

Relationship with Father and Family Support Score

Table 7.13 shows a significant association between FC's reporting a positive relationship with his father and high family support. There are no cases in which an FC who reports a negative relationship with his father, whether the father lives with him or not, is rated as being in a highly supportive family.

The family support scale, as originally constructed, contained several items relevant to father--son interaction. In this particular table any such items have been deleted so that the relationship obtained would not be confounded. The table, however, does not include those focal children who do not report having any relationship with the present or absent father, that is any ongoing relationship.

The obtained association seems particularly important because it shows that as far as FC perceives his family life and his father, the supportiveness of the family is not related to father-absence but only to the degree of "positiveness" of the relationship FC reports having with his father. This finding supports our expectation that, although father absence or presence in the household may have some important effects per se, the overall sense on the part of the FC that he has parents, relatives and other reference figures that he can rely on for support and gratification is associated with the actual relationships he is "living" inside and outside the house rather than dependent on physical presence or absence of given persons from the household. It also suggests that a supportive familial environment is one which maintains, enhances and is reinforced by positive relationships with the father, and insofar as some of these positive relationships are with absent fathers, this kind of supportiveness cannot be achieved without some degree of concurrence by or contribution from the mother.

TABLE 7.13

FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father Versus Family Support Score

	Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father			
Family Support Score (Rank)	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Low	5	4	6	15
Medium	1	6	8	15
High		3	13	16
Total	6	13	27	46

p level .03*

Relationship with Aspects of Personality and School Performance

At the end of our discussion of findings relevant to father-absence, we mentioned that both *father-presence and nature of relationship with father* were related to a number of variables from the self-concept schedule, the *initiator-reactor*, *can/can't change*, and *self-esteem* variables, as well as to (what we could call) tenacity in not dropping out of school. Because these complex relationships ought not to be discussed separately, they will be treated in Chapter 10, with the exception of the following findings regarding IQ and drawings.

IQ and Figure Drawings

In the initial stages of data analysis, associations between the initiator-reactor dimension, IQ subscale scores, dropping out and strategic style led us to suspect important relationships between father-relevant variables and IQ, particularly scores on the Verbal subscales and in the relationship between the Performance and Verbal and subscale scores (considered as an intrasubject phenomenon).

In Chapter 6 we made note of a positive correlation between fathers' occupations and FCs' Performance IQ subscale scores. On thinking about this, we speculated that there might be an association between FC's *relationship with his father* and his Performance IQ. We found that, while there was no *direct* link between Performance IQ and relationship with father, those FCs who had positive relationships with their fathers (in or out of the house) also had a tendency to score individually higher on the WAIS or WISC Performance IQ subscale than on the Verbal. This relationship was also supported (Table 7.14) for a sample from which were excluded all FCs who had no relationships with their fathers.

We also predicted that FCs who had positive relationships with their fathers would tend to score above the medium on the distribution of Performance IQ scores. However this prediction fell far short of confirmation (though, as we shall see below, we were astonished and perplexed when a related but more complicated association emerged).

TABLE 7.14

Relationship with Present or Absent Father Vs Relation of Performance to Verbal IQ Scores

Relation of Performance to Verbal IQ Scores	Relationship with Father in or out of House		
	Positive	Negative or Neutral	Total
Performance Greater than Verbal	14	5	19
Verbal Equal to or Greater than Performance	6	9	15
Total	20	14	34

p level .008**

These suggestions of associations between Performance IQ and father-related variables led us, further, to wonder whether positive relations between FC and his father could be viewed as somehow aiding in the transmission of the sort of spatial-analytical and object-manipulative cognitive skills which are assumed to underlie achievement on Performance IQ scales. In other words, we wondered whether a sense of competence and mastery in non-verbal areas might be mediated through satisfying relationships with and emulation of the father. We speculated further as to whether such a sense of competence on the part of FC might be experienced through his being relatively better at non-verbal tasks, and thereby might be associated with his sense that he can change for the better in areas which he values but in which he feels his performance is not what it could be. [The Performance-over-Verbal IQ score variable is significantly related to both positive relations with the father (Table 7.14) and the can/can't change variable (Table 8.22).]

This speculation was also at the root of our prediction (Table 10.14) that the group of reactors who think they can change (and who are also significantly more likely to have Performance higher than Verbal IQ scores) would tend to drop out of school at a greater rate than the reactors who think they can not change for the better. In other words, we were positing that the combination of FC's experiencing relatively greater performance than verbal skills (which performance skills would not be rewarded in his school experience) and the sense of his being able to "do better" would result in his dropping out of school to seek an environment wherein his competencies might better flourish, or, at least, where they might not atrophy. (The fact that this prediction was confirmed obviously does not prove our chain of speculation, but it does merit further exploration.)

As we continued to speculate on these possible relationships, we wondered if aspects of FC's "sense of self" as expressed in figure drawings might also be associated with the quality of his relationship with his father. On the basis of our clinical experience and the literature on figure drawings, we felt that the degree of articulation of figure drawing might be related to clarity of self-concept as well as to performance skills.

Witkin, in his major study *Psychological Differentiation* (1962), obtained a correlation of .54 between an *intellectual index* composed of three WISC Performance subtests (Block Design, Picture Completion, Object Assembly) to a *sophistication-of-body-concept* scale "designed to reflect degree of primitivity or sophistication of the figures represented by subjects in their drawings." (There was no significant correlation with a *Verbal index* composed of three WISC Verbal subtests.) Although no correlations were cited relating the *sophistication-of-body-concept* scale to Witkin's other major dimension, *sense of separate identity*, it is clear that the two dimensions are viewed by Witkin as congruent. In future work, we will report on our analysis of *sense of separate identity* scores derived from TAT-type stories. The prediction that higher levels of "sophistication" achieved by FCs on figure drawings would be associated with positive relationships between them and their fathers was confirmed (Table 7.15), though this prediction was really based on the assumed underlying connection between *sophistication-of-body-concept* and *sense-of-separate-identity*, an assumption which may not be legitimate. The samples are particularly small since figure drawings were obtained from only 46 of the FCs and several of these had no ongoing relationships with their fathers.

TABLE 7.15

Relationship with Father in or out of House Versus Sophistication-of-Body-Concept

	Relationship with Father in or out of House		
Sophistication-of-Body-Concept	Positive	Negative or Neutral	Total
Highly Articulated	6	1	7
Average Articulation	12	4	16
Poorly Articulated	2	9	11
Total	20	14	34

p level .005**

Table 7.16 shows a positive relationship between level of sophistication-of-body-concept and Performance-greater-than-Verbal IQ subscale scores for only those FCs who have positive relationships with their fathers. No such associations were obtained for FCs whose relationships with fathers were characterized as neutral or negative.

TABLE 7.16

Sophistication-of-Body-Concept Scores for FCs with Positive Relations with Fathers Versus Relation of Performance to Verbal IQ Scores

	Sophistication-of-Body-Concept Scores for FCs with Positive Relations with Fathers			
Relation of Performance to Verbal IQ Scores	Highly Articulated	Average Articulation	Poorly Articulated	Total
Performance Greater than Verbal	6	8	0	14
Verbal Equal to or Greater than Performance	0	4	2	6
Total	6	12	2	20

p level .01**

Table 7.17 shows the relationship between "sophistication" and level of Performance IQ, again only for FCs with positive relationships with their fathers. Though it's probably unnecessary, we should point out that there is no necessary association between the magnitude of FC's performance IQ score and his Performance score's being above his Verbal subscale score, since the Performance-over-Verbal score is an intra-individual rather than a group measure. Table 7.17 whows that there is a significant association between magnitude of Performance IQ and *sophistication-of-body-concept* for those who report a positive relationship to their fathers and for no other group. I frankly have no plausible explanation for this at this time; the project would be greatful for alternative hypotheses. The association in these last four tables (7.14-7.17) would be improved slightly by the inclusion in the sample of FCs with no relationships with their fathers but who do have relationships with surrogates; however we did not want to obscure the fact that the major effect is associated with FC's "natural" father and therefore have not included such tables in the present report.

TABLE 7.17

Sophistication-of-Body-Concept Scores for FCs with Positive Relationships with Fathers Vs Performance IQ Scores

	Sophistication-of-Body-Concept Scores for FCs with Positive Relationships with Fathers		
Performance IQ Scores	Highly Articulated	Average to Poorly Articulated	Total
Above median	5	3	8
Below median	1	11	12
Total	6	14	20

p level .018*

Quality of FC's relationship with his father can also be, inferentially, associated with the degree of independence of FC from parental values. Table 7.18 shows an association, barely missing the .05 significance criterion, between FC's relationship with his father and the tendency for FC to reject major changes in behavior or personality which he perceives his parents as wanting him to undergo. It is possible that the desire for him to change comes more from the mother than the father, in which case the table should be read as FC's independence from maternal pressure, but our index of perceived magnitude of changes desired by parents is an average for both parents (when there are two parents whom FC cites) and we will have to re-analyze those responses in order to more clearly determine the sources of perceived changes desired by each parent. In this case the lower N is the result of failure of interviewers to elicit clear responses to the question of whether FC wants to change in the ways he perceives his parents as wanting him to change, plus our inability to code some of the more equivocal or contradictory responses.

TABLE 7.18

Does FC Want Same Changes as Parents Versus

Relationship with Present or Absent Father

	Does FC Want Same Changes as Parents?		
Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father	FC wants little change	FC wants change	Total
Negative		3	3
Neutral	8	3	11
Positive	15	7	22
Total	23	13	36

p level .054*

Comparison of the findings relevant to father-absence with findings on nature of relationship with present or absent father unequivocally demonstrates the need for both of these dimensions in research. Each dimension makes a distinct and separable contribution to the attitudes, cognitive and behavioral styles, school performance, and job aspirations of the adolescent male as well as being linked together with certain interactions (in this case, the complex interaction between father-absence, relationship with father, self-esteem and school drop-out for initiators and the two groups of reactors, which we have promised would be delineated in Chapter 10).

To summarize, father-absence seems most powerfully related to variables concerned with social conformity and initiation: strategic style, the "initiator/reactor-can/can't-change" dimension and dropping out of school. Father-presence also seems to have overtones of benevolent authoritarianism since the association with staying in school, particularly for the reactive/can't change group, is mediated by a striking relationship, not with FC's self-esteem per se, but with the congruence between FC's self-esteem and his relationship with his father. Finally (and more inferentially), father-presence seems to contribute to the optimism and realism of FC's occupational aspirations, particularly in the correlation with FC's perception of the possibility of his reaching his ideal job choice. This material will receive further elaboration in Chapter 11, which presents the findings relevant to occupational aspirations. Additional corroboration of this interpretation comes from the positive correlation of .48 between frequency of contact with absent father and FC's perception that he can attain his ideal job.

On the other hand there seem to be three main effects of FC's positive relationship with his father. The first is a facilitation of his identifications - with males in his family, with famous historical males, and particularly with black heroes. (We, of course, would expect the latter relationship to become more general since Time 1, due to the popularization and intensification of the black liberation movement.) The second comes as part of what we assume to be a reciprocal reaction with supportiveness of family life, and seems to go a long way towards justifying the position that sustenance FC receives from important reference figures must be understood as a gestalt in which positive experiences with persons outside the home (fathers, extended family members, older contemporaries) are embedded along with positive relationships with members of his actual physical household. The third and most provocative relationship is between nature of relationship with father and aspects of Performance IQ. If we can hazard a possibly unjustified leap beyond the data, this may mean that positive relationships with the father, including his implicit, explicit or symbolic communication of the way the world works, could facilitate a non-verbal analytical competence or sense of effectiveness in his son. This sense, controlled for his relative level of achievement, may transcend his verbal "intelligence" [which may be more than a function of socialization than is Performance IQ (See Witkin 1962, passim).] and could be very important in helping FC to have the sense that he can be effective in the world and he can improve performance in areas he values.*

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* Data relevant to this interpretation is reviewed also in Chapters 8 and 10.

Availability of Male Models and Number of Males Chosen

The availability of male models index is based on several items from the family questionnaire and one question from the self concept questionnaire: thumbnail description of family members, most liked family member, description of father, family member FC would most want to resemble, male FC feels closest to, description of relationship to brothers, nomination of person who most understands FC, and person in or out of family FC would most like to grow up to be like.

We cited previously positive correlations between availability of male models and mother's education, family size, number of close males and FC's being from an extended family. In addition we found that FCs who cited more males available tended to be higher in self-esteem (.29) and to have more extensive knowledge of Negro groups and leaders (.28). On the other hand, higher 1969 grades were associated with a dearth of available male models (-.39).

However, the fact that male models are available to FC doesn't necessarily mean that he prefers to identify with them. The number of males chosen index was utilized to refer to those males specified as identification models in a variety of questions throughout the family and self-concept questionnaires.

Probably because it is a functional measure reflective of ongoing relationships, number of males chosen correlates positively to total family support (.42), quality of family life (.41), relationship with father in or out of house (.37), and race of famous models (.29). These correlations gain importance because they show that the ability to identify with important males whether in or out of the house resonates in the context of beneficent family experiences and may extend outwards in reinforcing the capacity to identify with black models in a predominently white world.

FC's Relationship with His Mother

Before the design of the Pathways Study had crystallized and before the sample was selected we circulated our proposal for comment, criticism and suggestions to a number of persons within the black community. At that time in history the consensus was that the young black male was more vulnerable to the effects of racism than was the young black female and that, given our limited resources, we should focus on black teenage males rather than females, concentrating particularly on the attempts to determine availability of supportive black male models and those factors and experiences which contributed to the development of "masculine" identity, racial pride and "sense of effectiveness". The staff was impressed with this case and in both the formulation of the interview schedules and in the development of coding indices, we concentrated on variables related to the father and other male models, though a great deal of material regarding mothers was elicited in the focal interviews. Consequently, the present report cannot adequately reflect the specific contribution of the mother to her son's behavior, self-concept, attitudes and aspirations, though we have stressed the relevant findings which have been obtained. Accordingly, during the writing of this report, we constructed a new index - nature of FC's relationship with mother. Time did not permit us to test for all relevant associations but we were able to run this scale against several indices which were of particular concern (qualities or behavior of FC mother most esteems, relationship with father, family support, quality of family life, sophistication-of-body-concept, initiator-reactor, can/can't change, and self-esteem).

In these tests, quality of relationship with mother was found to be significantly related to: behavior mother most esteems in FC, family support, quality of family life and the initiator-reactor dimension, but none of the other three.

Behavioral Qualities Mother Most Esteems in FC

The question, "What things do you do that your mother likes most?" was divised because we expected aspects of FC's overall relationship with his mother, context of family life experience, and personality attributes to be associated with either the extent to which her approval of his behavior was negative (either nothing pleases her or she only esteems his refraining from proscribed behavior) as opposed to positive (appreciating what he does for her and himself), or with a mother-vs-son-centered split on the same questions - whether the mother appreciates only those behaviors which are perceived as being to her benefit or whether she can esteem things FC does for his own sake.

Table 7.19 shows that the quality of FC's relationship to his mother is related to her capacity to value behaviors FC undertakes for his own benefit.

TABLE 7.19

Relationship with Mother Vs Behavioral Qualities of FC Most Esteemed by Mother

Behavioral Qualities of FC Most Esteemed by Mother	Nature of FC's Relationship with his Mother: Negative/Neutral	Positive	Total
Mother values nothing, abstinence from proscribed behavior or behavior directly beneficial to her.	31	6	37
Mother values behavior beneficial to FC	11	10	21
Total	42	16	58

p level .02*

In Table 7.20, comparing quality of family life with what mother likes most about FC, we see that the significant association between the two variables comes primarily from the preponderance (17 out of 20) of FCs whose family situations are characterized as being "extremely stressful" and who also view their mothers as esteeming only behaviors in them which are not primarily beneficial to themselves. Similar results were obtained for the family support variable.

TABLE 7.20

Quality of Family Life Vs Behavioral Qualities of FC Most Esteemed by Mother

Behavioral Qualities of FC Most Esteemed by Mother	Quality of Family Life: Excessively Stressful Family Situation	Average Family Situation	Above Average Family Situation	Total
Things Not Beneficial to FC	17	16	3	36
Beneficial — Things Befeficial to FC	3	14	4	21
Total	20	30	7	57

p level .037*

Extrapolating from familial variables, we had speculated that FCs who viewed themselves either as incapable of pleasing their mothers or of only pleasing their mothers through the avoidance of proscribed behavior rather than through positive acts would tend to feel less effective in some areas, specifically, that they were incapable of changing for the better in areas of performance they valued but in which they felt they were not competent. The resulting table (7.21) while indicating a significant association in the expected direction is not very impressive given the small number of cases in the "not beneficial" category. Nonetheless, it is another element suggestive of some of the factors on which may be based the mother's contribution to FC's perception of his potential effectiveness and the supportiveness of his family.

TABLE 7.21

FC Can or Can't Change Versus Behavioral Qualities of FC Most Esteemed by Mother

	FC Can or Can't Change		
Behavioral Qualities of FC Most Esteemed by Mother	Can Change	Can't Change	Total
Things not positively beneficial to her or FC	1	4	5
Things beneficial to her or FC	35	15	50
Total	36	19	55

p level .05

There were no similar relationships obtained between the behavioral qualities FC's father valued in him and any of the preceding variables. However, on examining the variable in connection with the can/can't change distinction, we noted that the father's perceived "implacability" (FC's feeling he can't please him at all or only by avoidance of proscribed behavior) seemed related to FC's sense that he can change for the better, whereas the mother's perceived "implacability" was, as was shown in the preceding table, related to FC's sense that he could not change. The following table, which expresses this relationship, was constructed for suggestive purposes only (in it no FC occupies more than one cell).

TABLE 7.22

Parental Implacability Vs Can/Can't Change

Can/Can't Change	Parental Implacability Father unresponsive to "positive" behavior	 Mother unresponsive to "positive" behavior	Total
Can Change	5	1	6
Can't Change	0	4	4
Total	5	5	10

p level .05

Quality of FC's Relationship with his Mother

Table 7.23 shows the relationships between family support and quality of FC's relationship with his mother. Although the whole table does not yield a significant Chi Square, the extremes suggested an association between positive relationship with mother and higher levels of perceived family supportiveness (A similar situation obtained for quality of family life).

TABLE 7.23

Relationship with Mother Vs Family Support

	Quality of Relationship with Mother			
Family Support	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Low	5	14	3	22
Medium to High	3	22	13	38
Total	8	36	16	60

p level not significant;
extremes significant at .047*

Table 7.5 showed a significant association between father-absence and "initiation" which seems, on the basis of the finding reported in Table 7.7, partially attributed to FC's sibling position and inferentially, his role in the father-absent household. The other side of the relationship - that reactors tend to be father-present, along with the relationship we found between father-presence and congruence of relationship with father and self-esteem (See Chapter 10, Tables 10.15-10.20.) could be taken to suggest that "reactivity" was mainly a function of FC's relationship with his father. However, Table 7.24, taken with foregoing information, indicates that reactivity may be a result of qualities of both parents' relationships with FCs (in ways we have yet to clarify). Surprisingly, the relationship obtained mainly came from those reactive FCs who characterize their relationships with their mothers as positive, though the effect is suggested by the extreme cells only.

TABLE 7.24

Relationship with Mother Vs Initiator-Reactor

	Quality of Relationship with Mother			
Initiator-Reactor	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Initiator	4	14	2	20
Reactor	3	22	15	40
Total	7	36	17	60

p level not significant;
extremes significant at .032

Family Support and Quality of Family Life

The major difference between the quality of family life ratings and the supportiveness of family is that the supportiveness of family ranks came from specific items which were coded very stringently (see Appendix B); neither were specific impressions of the nature of family life gleaned from other parts of the interviews nor global impressions of the interviews allowed to influence the ratings. The need for the scale arose from the coders' and interviewers' perceptions that there were sometimes discrepancies between family support scores and their global impressions of the family lives of individual FCs. Quality of family life is a more clinical or subjective rating representing the coder's global impression of the way that FC perceived his family and his feelings about it based on a reading of the entire set of transcripts plus any other information communicated informally or observed which seemed relevant. The correlation between these two indices is significant but not as large (.48) as to generate a great deal of faith, though we had little reason to hope that an atomistically derived code dealing with such a large, complex and diffuse area of a young man's life would greatly overlap with a more global, clinical and subjective code based on a great deal more information. For the purpose of the current report we will temporarily suspend the need to analyze differences between the two indices in detail and concentrate on the relationships they may elicit or reflect.

Family Variables and Identification

The family variables seem most strongly associated with: parental relationships (Tables 7.13, 7.23), selection of identification models and occupational variables.

Table 7.25 clearly shows a significant relationship between *degree of family supportiveness* and *identification with a male in the family*: in the families which are rated as least supportive FC tends to identify with no one or with his mother, rather than a male by a ratio of about 2:1; in families which are characterized as of medium supportiveness the tendency to identify with the male is slightly over 50-50 (11 out of 21 cases). In the highly supportive families the tendency to identify with the male rather than the mother or no one is approximately 4:1. This association, since it does not depend upon the presence of the father, considered together with Table 7.14 (*relationship with father-vs-family support*) strengthens our contention and that of other writers cited in Chapter 3, that masculine identification is facilitated by positive familial experience and should be considered in the context of a boy's relationship with important persons in or out of the house.

TABLE 7.25

FC Similar to Whom in Family Vs Family Support Score

	FC Similar to Whom in Family			
Family Support Score (Rank)	No One	Mother	Male	Total
Low	3	8	5	16
Medium		10	11	21
High	1	3	15	19
Total	4	21	31	56

p level .019*

In Table 7.26, as in the preceding table, there is a significant relationship with the degree of family supportiveness and identification with a male who is known to the FC. The difference between Table 7.25 and Table 7.26 is that the first asks for FC's sense of similarity to a family member, independent of whether or not he wants to be like that family member, whether or not he likes that similarity; Table 7.26 asks, in general, what person does the FC know that he would like to grow up like, the answers not necessarily being limited to family members though family members often are cited.

TABLE 7.26

Who FC Would Like to Grow Up Like

Versus Family Support Score

	Who Would FC Like to Grow Up Like?			
Family Support Score (Rank)	No One	Female	Male	Total
Low	9		6	15
Medium	2		17	19
High	3	2	14	19
Total	14	2	37	53

p level .004**

Degree of family support not only is associated with FC's having a familial (or as Umbarger, 1969, designates, "proximal") model, but also with the choice of a famous historical model (Table 7.27); no FC from a highly supportive family fails to choose a famous model. This finding is independent of the race of the famous model; however, supportiveness of family facilitates having a famous model whether the model is white or black. This is in contrast to the situation obtaining for the relationship with father variable in which positive relationship with father is associated with the race as well as the selection of the famous model.

TABLE 7.27

Does FC Have Famous Person He Would Like to Be Versus Family Support Score

	Does FC Have Famous Person He Would Like to Be		
Family Support Score (Rank)	No Model	Has Model	Total
Low	7	11	18
Medium	7	15	22
High		20	20
Total	14	46	60

p level .009**

Family and Occupational Variables

In discussing the possible relationships between aspects of the father's work experience and status accomplishment and FC's job aspirations (Chapter 4, Hypothesis V) we stressed the difficulty of making directional predictions about vocational variables because of the arbitrariness of black people's occupational fates in view of the pervasive bias in hiring and, often, union policies. We noted that father's perceived job dissatisfaction (rather than his satisfaction) was associated with FC's having higher aspirations and expectations and more confidence that he could reach his ideal job. Evaluating whether the negative correlation obtained between quality of family life and father's perceived job satisfaction (-.35) can be viewed as consonant with this picture is difficult. Although several alternative hypotheses could be advanced for a finding that could turn out to be spurious (that is, which could occur primarily through relationships with other variables) we will consider it as material for modest speculation. We know that FC's reported poorer relationships with fathers from higher occupational status levels, and that there is a positive association between father's occupational level and his perceived job satisfaction. At his point we can't tell whether the effect is due to fathers who are dissatisfied with their jobs and/or who have less skilled jobs spending more time with their families, or whether in a highly supportive family there is more interchange between the father and family members so that his work dissatisfaction is communicated more frankly.

One hint that this might be the case comes from the association between nature of FC's relationship with absent or present father and reasons for FC's negative job choice (Table 7.28). The "danger/no danger" code of reasons for negative job choice was utilized because of its possible relationship to aspects of sense of effectiveness or control. We thought that the perception of danger in the environment might be greater in FCs who felt less effective at getting what they wanted, less in control of their destinies. The "danger" code seems to operate in this manner with several variables. However, in this particular case, though we would not have predicted the obtained relationship, we found that FCs who had positive relationships with their fathers were more likely to cite danger as a reason for not wanting the job they dislike the most. We suggested previously (in connection with Tables 4.16 and 4.17) that one of the contributions of the black father to his son's occupational aspirations might be the conveying to him of a certain justified pessimism about the employment scene, which, rather than dampening his aspirations could at least arm him with the sense of the real probabilities of the "firing range" which is the occupational world the black man must face in the United States. In interpreting the "danger" code, I have tended to want to "have it both ways" - that it should refer to sense of effectiveness and also to indicate the father's skepticism, pessimism about work, or to reflect more precarious aspects of the father's own work experience. Only further analysis will clarify this interpretation, but Table 7.28 is offered to permit the reader to help us decide.

TABLE 7.28

Reasons for FC's Negative Job Choices Versus

Relationship with Absent or Present Father

	Reasons for FC's Negative Job Choices		
Nature of FC's Relationship with Absent or Present Father	Danger	No Danger	Total
Negative/Neutral	3	14	17
Positive	13	13	26
Total	16	27	43

p level .05*

Another possible interpretation of the correlation is that FCs from families characterized as stressful assume, without basis, that their fathers must be very involved with their jobs and satisfied with their work if they don't seem to be making a positive contribution to the family milieu. Several other possibilities could be offered, but the main impact of the correlation, considered conservatively, would seem to be simply that the success or lack of success of black fathers in the white world does not prejudice the way they relate to the family and the way they're perceived by their sons.

Another problematic finding was negative association between level of ideal job and family support [r(prestige) = -.34; r(status) = -.27]. In this case, presentation of two forms of the relevant contingency table may be helpful. In Table 7.29 we see that both the focals whose ideal jobs were as blue collar workers and those whose ideal jobs were as white collar workers tended to come from families rated medium or high in supportiveness to the focal. (5 out of 5 choosing blue collar jobs and 27 out of 34 choosing white collar ones.) On the other hand, focals choosing "fantasy" jobs ("millionnaire, wise-man, President," etc.) were more or less evenly divided between families rated "medium/high" and "low" in support. None of the focals from "low" support families chose lower-SES jobs as their ideals. However, when the specific occupations - blue and white collar jobs (the so-called "realistic" jobs) are grouped together as in Table 7.30 - it is apparent that the "low" support focals tend to select a higher proportion of "fantasy" jobs, the attainment of which is less likely. (The correlation between choosing "millionaire, wise-man, President" and family support is -.35.)

TABLE 7.29

Ideal Job Choice Versus Family Support

	FC's Ideal Job Choice			
Family Support	Blue Collar	White Collar	Fantasy	Total
Low	0	7	9	16
Medium/High	5	27	8	40
Total	5	34	17	56

p level .018*

TABLE 7.30

Reality of Ideal Job Choice Vs Family Support

Family Support	Reality of FC's Ideal Job Choice "Realistic Jobs"	"Fantasy Jobs"	Total
Low	7	9	16
Medium/High	32	8	40
Total	39	17	56

p level .05*

On the basis of these two tables it would seem as though the association depicted below (Table 7.31) between quality of family life and FC's perception that he could attain his job ideal arises, we infer, not only because positive familial experiences can facilitate FC's optimism about his future and his ability to get what he wants, but because FCs who say they probably won't attain their ideal jobs (who also tend to come from more stressful families) tend to have ideal jobs with very low real probability of attainment. (A similar significant association is obtained with the family support variable, but only by utilizing the extremes of trichotomized scores.) Another indirect source of support for our interpretation that the "millionnaire, wise-man, President" category may represent unrealistic "wish-fulfillment" jobs which are associated with FC's insecurity and will be less likely among more secure FCs, comes from the fact that only 1 out of 10 high self-esteem FCs (in the trichotomized distribution) cites this category as an ideal job choice.

TABLE 7.31

Could FC Attain Ideal Job Choice Vs Quality of Family Life

Quality of Family Life	Could FC Attain Ideal Job Choice? Yes/Maybe	No	Total
Excessively Stressful Family Situation	11	9	20
Above Average Family Situation/Average Family Situation	29	5	34
Total	40	14	54

p level .05*

Table 7.31 shows clearly that FCs, in the main, feel as though they've got a chance of attaining their ideal job choices. As we tried to pull together these findings, we wondered whether some of the FCs from less favorable (more stressful) family situations might have developed inhibitions against upward mobility. To test this, we coded FC's reasons for his negative job choices in terms of whether or not he (spontaneously) cited the level of complexity or responsibility inherent in a particular job as a reason for not wanting it. In the resulting table, so few FCs from any sort of family situation cited "upward mobility" as to make the result easily vulnerable to being washed out by the addition of one or two cases. However, we feel that the exploratory nature of the research justifies the presentation of what "leads" may be found, regardless of the size of the sub-sample involved. Table 7.32, then, gives the smallest hint that an inhibition of upward mobility strivings, when it occurs, may occur more frequently among FCs from a stressful family situation than among those whose family situations are more favorable.

TABLE 7.32

Reasons for Negative Job Choices

Versus Quality of Family Life

	Reasons for FC's Negative Job Choices		
Quality of Family Life	Not Upwardly Mobile	Upwardly Mobile	Total
Excessively Stressful Family Situation	7	4	11
Average Family Situation/ Above Average Family Situation	25	2	27
Total	32	6	38

p level .05*

Independent of the reasons FC spontaneously asserts for his negative job choice, we found the above trend borne out by an inverse relationship between quality of family life and status level of negative job choice (Table 7.33) such that FCs not wanting higher level SES jobs tend to come from stressful families whereas FCs who are concerned about avoiding low-status jobs tend to come from families rated as average or above-average in quality of family life. This finding goes against our expectation that higher level of negative job choices would be associated with greater familial security.

TABLE 7.33

FC's Negative Job Choice: Social-Economic Status Versus Quality of Family Life

Quality of Family Life	FC's Negative Job Choice: Social-Economic Status Unskilled	 Craftsman/ White Collar/Professional	Total
Excessively Stressful Family Situation	7	13	20
Average Family Situation/ Above Average Family Situation	24	13	37
Total	31	26	57

p level .05*

Family and Other Variables

Quality of family life is positively associated with FC's staying in school longer (.48), and his having higher school expectations (.31); though not aspirations since less than a tenth of the sample goes on record as not wanting to go to college.

In connection with the self-concept variables, two contingency tables should be noted, though they don't reach the .05 level of significance. An examination of Table 7.34, quality of family life versus strategic style, shows that the families rated as more stressful - in which the highest proportions of FCs exhibit "tough guy", "conformist", and "withdrawn" styles - are those characterized by the least amount of flexibility in terms of range of available behavior and FC's ability to use a variety of means to attain his goals.

TABLE 7.34

Strategic Style Vs Quality of Family Life

	Strategic Style					
Quality of Family Life	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Confor-mist	With-drawn	Total
Excessively Stressful Family Situation	4	5	4	7	2	22
Average Family Situation	11	11	1	5	1	29
Above Average Family Situation	3		1	2	2	8
Total	18	16	6	14	5	59

p level .126

Table 7.35 suggests a linkage between quality of family life and parental acceptance of their children: approximately 2/3's of the focals whose families are characterized as stressful perceive their parents as wanting them to make major changes in their behavior or personalities.

TABLE 7.35

Changes FC Thinks His Parents Want Vs Quality of Family Life

	Changes FC Thinks His Parents Want (Average)		
Quality of Family Life	Minor Changes	Major Changes	Total
Excessively Stressful Family Situation	7	15	22
Average Family Situation	18	11	29
Above Average	4	4	8
Total	29	30	59

p level .101

Quality of family life is also associated with FC's belief that blacks and whites are not the same (Table 7.36). Strikingly, 36 out of 37 FCs who come from less stressful family situations feel that there are important differences between the races whereas slightly over half of those from "excessively stressful" family situations maintain that there are no differences between blacks and whites aside from the pigmentation of their skin. At this point we don't have a good sense of what this means; perhaps familial problems are associated with an obscuring or denial of general social problems or realities. But, at the least, it does seem to indicate that the perception of racial differences does not arise simply from the projection of family unhappiness onto the society.

TABLE 7.36

Statements About Racial Differences Vs Quality of Family Life

	Stereotyping - FC's Statements about Racial Differences		
Quality of Family Life	Yes, differences	No, differences	Total
Excessively Stressful Family Situation	10	12	22
Average Family Situation/ Above Average Family Situation	36	1	37
Total	46	13	59

p level .01**

A Note in Summary

In Chapter 3, we noted that studies of the impact of family structure and experience on the developing black adolescent had often failed to distinguish among several crucial and interrelated variables: father-absence, quality of relationships with father and with mother, age of child when father left the household or died, frequency of contact with the absent father, supportiveness of familial experience, availability of surrogate parents.

We feel the foregoing chapter has amply demonstrated the value and necessity of considering these variables as they relate to aspects of self-concept (including racial identity), aspirations, and school experience. If preceding studies which have considered black populations have not found substantial relationships between family background factors and these other domains of variables, we believe this is because they either did not distinguish among such familial characteristics as we have described, or because they assumed an unwarranted degree of homogeneity to exist within the black lower-class. Probably the most notable findings have to do with the differences between the effects of father-absence, on the one hand, and relationships with the father on the other; these findings have been summarized in the preceding paragraphs. Our findings have been summarized in the preceding paragraphs. Our impression of the father-absent children is not the stereotypic one involving extreme deprivation, feminization, or compensatory hyper-masculinity, but that father-absent children may occupy different familial roles which involve either more responsibility or more license than do the roles available to father-present children. Similarly, the father-absent child may have either an important surrogate or he may have a meaningful relationship with his absent father.

It has also been very illuminating to discover that the FC's judgments of the degree of supportiveness he receives from his family seem to be neither primarily the contributions of their mothers nor of the fathers who are living at home: positive relationships between the son and his father are associated with greater supportiveness of family, whether or not the father is at home. Likewise, characteristics of the mother may enhance the possibility of the son's forming a "masculine" identity regardless of whether the father is at home or not.

The Presence of an Absent Father

The following excerpt is presented because we feel it illustrates the complex relationships between a young man and his absent father.

THE PRESENCE OF AN ABSENT FATHER

Respondent: My father, my paternal father, that is, had a habit. He didn't work. You know, wouldn't work, he would just drink, you know, he'd get drunk and he'd come back and ba-boom, you know, beat the hell out of us kids. And shit, you know, this was his whole thing, --beat my mother. Then when I got at an age of understanding, (which I think was very very young, which was about four years old), when I noticed the shit that was going on, and I noticed that he wasn't working...This was during the war, and they both worked, they both started working at Fall River Shipyards.

Interviewer: Yeah.

R: And my mother was a welder, climbing up and down those boats, welding those boats together and shit and SO WAS HE supposedly and HE didn't...He wouldn't work, just started hanging out with his boys drinking wine. He became a wino. That was his whole thing, and my mother continued working at Fall River Shipyard at nights and everything, and then he would come in, like after she had come in off the night shift, and he'd come in after that all drunk and shot down and, shit...Then my mother would, you know, take us, as soon as he get in from work and, shit, and wash up and get ready for bed. She take us all, and shove us all in one room, it seems like. "Now you kids get in there," you know, "and get underneath the bed, just get underneath the bed," you know, "and don't come out from underneath those beds." And she'd be standing in, like in the doorway, you know. And we would be under the beds. It was like two bunk beds in the room, you know. They were like, caddy-corner and the door was like facing, like this door, like directly in front of you. And she use to stand up in front of the door when he'd come in, and when I hear him, he'd hit the door...BAM, you know. And he'd start with his bullshit, and he'd come right to the bed, and she'd say, now just let the kids alone, they're all sleeping...this and that. He'd be saying, "AW, MOTHER, BEAT YOUR ASS." Then he'd start, BOOM, smaking her. I can see her fighting with him, you know, trying to keep him from coming in the bedroom and beating us.

I: Why'd he want to beat you...beat the kids up?

R: I don't know - he's a fucking nut, man, that's the only thing I can feel, because everyone of us are his, you know, but I think, I really...I thought that out many times, man, cause I planned since I was that young to...

I: How do you know everyone are his?

R: Well, we are...we are, baby, we are.

I: How would you know?

R: Well, that's...this thing again about, you know, that trust in mother thing, you know.

I: Your mother always told you so?

R: You know, well, yeah, that's the only way that you can really find out anyway, is what they tell us, but...

I: So if she always told you that you were...

R: But I took, anyway, I know I took...no, we all look like the spitting image of his ass, but that doesn't make any difference...that doesn't mean nothing because I got a friend of mine who had a baby by... like Jack, you know, that baby that Jack had by... you know Jack use to swear by God that that was my baby.

I: I'm hip, man. We discussed that last week.

R: Man, he really ought to be getting mad. I don't know why I'm saying this.

I: Finish this thing off, man. Answer your questions so that I can get out of here.

R: After that the beating...oh, the way I came to my, my particular psychoanalysis of this situation. The man was very, very bright. He is exceptionally bright, but he was a little bit too bright, I believe. You know, because that's when you go into the realms of, like, sanity and insanity. And I think he just strayed a little too far into that. He had a hunger for books, he had a hunger for knowledge, he had a hunger for so many things man, that dealt with, you know, exploring of the mind, you know, bring your mind into deeper depths and things. He had...he really had that going for him and then he had that thing of, he had been, he was so defeated. In other words like what he knew or what he could learn mentally, he could not apply, you know. He couldn't apply, he could not get the chance to work things out which he was capable of mentally.

I: That's kind of a rationalization, though, ain't it, man, to beat your kids?

R: Yeah, but check this out now, he wouldn't work and he'd get drunk and all this. And my mother created the good image thing, you know, the mother thing. And she created the thing, you know, getting...bringing home the money for the food and the clothes and to keep him in wine. Perhaps he was rebelling at this, because he was an intelligent man and he knew that he was smart enough to be able to do this. But why couldn't he, since he was into this rut of being a degenerate since he was into this thing. He had to fight against something. That was a rebellious thing to him. He had everything going against being the way he is, so he was striking back at it, the thing that he really loved, you know. This is the only reason why I didn't kill him, because I had planned to kill him and I had planned it in...when I met him. This is another reason why maybe I was so lonely at sixteen and searching and I would never be around anyone too much, except Joe. I use to just lay under Joe and listen to little things that he would say and be with him. But at sixteen, I finally seen my father, since the time I was six or seven...(Was it seven? Yeah, at seven.) Because I stabbed him with a knife at seven years old. He came in with his beating up my mother bit, you know. You know she went and brought him over to the hospital, and all that bullshit, and she told him, "that's IT, that's the end, that's the limit, when, you know, one of my children has to do something like this." You know, that was really over as far as she was concerned, so I had planned from that age on. And he came back one day and I was out, I was, in fact, I should have been home that day, but...I should have been home at a certain time that day, but wasn't home at that time. And he had come back into the house, you know, broke down the door, and shit, and broke my mother's ass, you know, because she wouldn't go back with him, you know. And he went through, you know, really threw a thing and from that time on, then I planned to kill him.

And when I was sixteen years old I'd gone by my grandmother's house, which was very very rarely that I even went down there. His mother and I'm sitting down and, you know, I'm talking with her, and we're going over a lot of things. She never discussed him with me, his whereabouts or anything to me, you understand, or anyone else in the family. She never did. Only if you ask would she answer your questions, you see, but I didn't want her...I didn't want to ask her, I wanted to find him, to come upon him and then just off him. So I was sitting there right next to her and this cat came into the house. This cat, short, you know, with freckles all over his face and everything, red hair and red, red mustache. And I felt this FUNNY, FUNNY feeling, jim, you know, this funny feeling that came on over me, when I'm sitting there and, you know, the guy came in and he said Hi. I said Hi, then I sat down and I still kept talking and everything. And I dug, you know, my grandmother was nervous, with the back and forth thing, so I, you know, so then she says, "Do you know who this is?" And I looked at the cat and said "No, I don't think we met." And she says, to him, she says "Buddy, do you know who that is?" And when she said BUDDY, I knew that that was my old man. I just looked at him. I looked at him and then I... he was so...he was so much like a degenerate, man. He was so small and he was shot to hell and everything. He was like nothing, man, completely nothing. And she said "this is your son," and I said that's not my father, you know, just looked at the cat and I got up to go to the door, and he looked at me and then he said, as I was going out the door, (cause I was going to get my piece, in fact it wasn't my piece, I knew where I could get a piece), you know, like that. So I was going out the door and he says to me, "I've never married after your mother" and I just kept walking and going off, you know. And then the more I thought about what he said to me, you know, as far as his cleanup...because I kept saying to myself "I'm going to kill him, I'm going to kill him" and "don't make no difference what happens to me, I'm just going to kill him." But it kept running in my mind what he said about he never married any other woman than my mother, and I kept saying "Why, why, why, why, why" so then I started going through the bit...began breaking him down psychologically to myself, if I was to give myself any kind of answer. And I thought I was being very very objective because

I went into the hate thing. I went into the thing, well it is a father, it's a blood relationship. Blood, blood, blood, blood, blood, you know. That blood thing that's drummed into you when you're borned. And I was thinking of that, you know, that too, and I came out with that, he...to me he was dead, that's why I said earlier to Fred...remember when I made that remark about you know, there is a living dead...

I: Mm.

R: You may be living but...dead.

I: Yeah.

R: I saw him again in the 1950's: I was driving a truck, cutting through one of those alleys and I pulled in and I looked and I saw this cat doll into this bucket, cause right up from there they'd had some barbecue or something...I saw this nigger dippin his hand into the thing and comin out with a piece of meat on the thing, and flies are flyin' and, shit, the nigger's pushin them away, and that was my old man, jim. You know, my paternal old man. So he's living a death, man. He's being made to suffer for all this. And that's what I mean about being a genius or being brilliant or something like that. It isn't really too hip, man.

The interview from which these excerpts were taken raises many questions.

In what sense can we consider this father as absent from his son? Not only has the son thought of him a great deal throughout his life, but his thinking about his father seems to be a part of his core identity. Does this mean that certain circumstances could make some absent fathers more present than fathers who have remained with their families?

This man who was described as a degenerate by his son, was he solely a negative model? Thinking of concepts of partial identification, is it possible that the son was able to abstract from the total personality of his father an image of intellectual potential which he resolves to actualize in himself as his father could not? Other material suggests this may be the case, though we cannot prove it here.

How much can the image of such a father, presumably fixed in the son's mind early in childhood, be modified by later understandings and experience? How constant or whole need models be to have important effects?

Although the son speaks of his mother as providing virtually all dimensions of parental support, we may trace in later portions of the interview a positive, though saddened, sense of isolation in the son which he speaks of as though it provided him with great strength at times. Was this sense of isolation at all attributable to the perceived separateness of his father?

We cannot answer these questions from this material, but they help us to focus on what to wonder about as we seek to understand the processes of identification among the focal young men of the sample.

CHAPTER 8

SELF CONCEPT FINDINGS

Self-Esteem

At the time the interview schedules were completed, we knew of no formal "self-esteem" index which seemed to us allowing enough of complexity to be included along with the open-ended questions we were asking. We also did not expect to perform the kind of analysis that might justify the inclusion of previously employed indices (e.g. Rosenberg, 1965.) Since then Coopersmith (1967) published what may be the most careful and dynamic study of a self-esteem questionnaire to date, and we have included that instrument along with the Time 2 interview schedules.

The variable which we have called self-esteem was not intended to be more than an approximation of the extent to which FC was satisfied with his current level of functioning and his reaction to (what he perceived to be) important other persons' judgments of him. The variable is totally lacking items which directly seek to elicit the affective components of self-esteem. We have generally interpreted it as a coder's summary of FC statements as to whether he accepted himself the way he perceived himself to be at the time of the interviews. The items which made up this score include: number of activities, areas or talents FC felt better at than the average boy his age; the number of activities, areas, talents in which he felt less competent than his peers (in both cases responses being limited to those areas he deemed most important to him); the presence or absence of a desire to change places with someone else and his reaction to general parental approval or disapproval of his personal attributes and behavior.

Earlier sections described a few initial findings relating aspects of family structure with self-esteem: a) regarding position in family (Table 7.3)self-esteem is clearly negatively associated with being the youngest or only child in the family--only one of the eleven children are ranked as being high in self-esteem, whereas the greatest proportion of high self-esteem FCs come from the middle child position (7 out of 11 high esteem FCs); b) FCs with higher self-esteem scores tended to come from extended families (-.27); c) high self-esteem was positively associated with availability of male models (.29); and, d) older FCs tended to be higher in self-esteem (-.26).

Self-esteem seems to be a variable which associates with two different and often inversely related clusters of variables. On the one hand as we have seen in the immediately preceding discussion, self-esteem was found to be significantly related to variables indicative of FC's perceived lack of ability or desire to change: it correlates .27 with "can't change" and .31 with the reactive/can't end of the reactive can/can't change variable. In addition FCs who are high in self-esteem are less likely to say they would like to change places with someone else than those who are low in self-esteem (Table 8.1). On the other hand, high self-esteem relates positively to two variables that have been linked with either "initiation" or "improvability": the less frequent citations of "danger" as a reason for negative job choice (Table 8.2); and more willingness to move in the white world" (the extreme cells of Table 8.3). Another paradox is that in spite of the linkage between "high self-esteem" and the "reactive/can't change" category which has been associated with more conformist behavior when we look at the low extreme of the self-esteem category there are, strikingly, no FCs who report being punished in school or "hooking" frequently.

TABLE 8.1

Self Esteem in Relationship to Changing Places

FC Would Change Places With	Self-Esteem Low	High	TOTALS
Would Not Change Places With	11	22	33
Would Change Places	17	11	28
TOTALS	28	33	61

p level .05*

*(minus "Would Change Places With" Item)

TABLE 8.2

Negative Job Choices and Self-Esteem

Reasons for FC's Negative Job Choice	Low	Self-Esteem Medium/High	TOTALS
Danger	7	13	20
No Danger	4	31	35
TOTALS	11	44	55

p level .05*

TABLE 8.3

Self-Esteem and FC's Willingness to Move in a White World

Self-Esteem	Willingness to Move in a White World Low	Medium	High	TOTALS
Low	3	7	3	13
Medium	4	20	11	35
High	1	2	8	11
TOTALS	8	29	22	59

p level .074
extremes significant at .025*

An examination of the distributions of two components of the self-esteem scale indicates that some of the inconsistencies in the behavior of the variable may come from the inclusion of the "number of areas in which FC says he is more competent than his peers" variable (referred to in the code book as number of better at) which may have to be separated from the scale in future analyses.

The Initiator-Reactor Dimension

Of all open-ended questions asked by the project in the interviews, one which yielded some of the most complex data, and the one which seemed to elicit many aspects of the self-perceptions of the young black men we interviewed was what we have come to call the "Spy Question." The "spy question" basically asks each respondent to imagine how important reference individuals perceive him. It reads:

> "Let's pretend you wanted to disappear from the scene for a while, but you had to get someone to take your place so that no one would know you were gone. You have to teach him, like a spy, how to act like you so that no one would know the difference. How would you tell him to act around home? With your friends? At school?"

The interviewer would probe by naming persons known to be important to FC and ask what the "spy" would have to know to interact with those persons without being detected. The question elicited more interest and involvement than any other we asked. Several FCs who either had been relatively taciturn during other parts of the interview or who had not given signs of very differentiated self-perceptions entered into the question with enthusiasm and unanticipated articulateness.

One of the major distinctions derived from this question was what we have called the initiator-reactor dimension. Initiator refers to those FCs who, when asked what the spy would do in interacting with the various reference figures, generally responded by citing behaviors that the "spy" should initiate before the behavior of the other person had been specified (Examples of these responses have been given in Chapter 3). "Reactor" refers to those FCs who, in their stories, generally would tell the spy how to react after reference figures had first done something in relation to him or had asked him for something (Inter-judge agreement in coding the reactor-initiator dimension was 93%; disagreements were resolved by conference.

Although we shall see that the initiator-reactor dimension has many important correlates with other variables in all areas under investigation, we would urge conservatism in its interpretation: like the ears of a German Shepherd puppy, which are much too large for its head and small frame, and into which one hopes the puppy will grow, the designation initiator-reactor is larger, perhaps more scholarly and pompous than the single aspect of the discrete question from which it grew. Given this restriction, the term should not be confused with other dimensions, such as Rotter's "internal vs external control of reinforcement", or Coleman's "sense of fate control", which have been advanced as general or unitary personality traits. We have reason to believe that the initiator-reactor distinction has some relationships to what could be called "sense of agency" or "sense of effectiveness", that is, the self-portrayal of the individual respondent as an actor involved in his fate, an agent who can effectively vary his or her behavior in order to achieve desired ends. However, the case for the legitimacy of this distinction can only be built up by the agglomeration of specific findings and the further testing of observed and predicted relationships. We do not advance the initiator-reactor distinction as more than one of several ways of coding complex responses to one question. Perhaps the name is too large for the phenomenon from which it derives, but we were not able to think of anything more humble which so accurately designated the basis of the code. Also, we would like to caution the researcher against "choosing sides" on any of the bipolar or mixed continua we have utilized. In social science research, one falls into the habit—and we certainly have, however we fought it—of thinking that the authoritarians are bad, the non-authoritarians good, the "complex" preferable to the "simple", the "flexible" more to be esteemed than the"rigid", and, perhaps in this case, the "initiators" exemplifying more what we esteem in people than the "reactors". But all of these distinctions refer to aspects of the comparatively simple responses of complex human beings to artificial situations: they may be representative of other, less artificial, extra-experimental behavior and some of these distinctions may reflect traits of greater or less or variable generality in an individual or among groups. There is also no implication intended that "initiation" or "reaction" would necessarily be "lived out" in interpersonal behavior; we are referring to FC's attitudes and beliefs as they are revealed in self-description. These cautions should be kept in mind in the following discussion.

The Initiator-Reactor Dimension and Other Self-Concept Variables

Table 8.4 shows a relationship between the initiator-reactor code and the can/can't change code. "Can change" and "can't change" refer to those FCs who felt that they could or could not make desired changes in behaviors, skills and abilities regarding which they felt less effective than other boys their age. This table shows that there is a significant difference between the "reactors" and the "initiators" in terms of their feelings about the possibility for change in areas that they would like to change. Those subjects who tend to depict themselves as initiators of interpersonal behavior also tend to believe that they can change those aspects of their lives and behavior that they find unsatisfactory. Further, those subjects who tend to portray themselves as passive or non-initiating (reactive) in answering the spy question and talking about interpersonal behavior are equally divided in their belief that they can or cannot change in desired ways. This latter observation suggests that lack of initiation in responses concerning interpersonal relations alone cannot predict these subjects' feelings or beliefs about being able to shape their lives. (The correlation between initiator-reactor and can/can't change is -.42; it is only negative because of the coding scheme.)

TABLE 8.4

Reactive-Initiative versus Can-Can't Change

Can-Can't Change	Reactive	Initiative	Reactive-Initiative TOTALS
FC Can Change	20	17	37
FC Can't Change	20	1	21
TOTALS	40	18	58

p level .01**

Rather than assume that the 50-50 split of the "reactors" on can/can't change meant that the latter distinction had no implications regarding the "reactors", we hypothesized that reactors who believed they could change for the better in valued areas (henceforth called "reactive/cans" and reactors who beleived they could not improve performance (henceforth called "reactive/can'ts" in fact constituted two separate subgroups which would perform differently from each other and from the "initiators" on other variables, particularly in regards to school performance. The results of the breakdown of the reactors into these two groups confirmed our hunch and will be described below.

As we have said, the can/can't change dimension reflects FC's belief that he can change for the better in areas he values (not in areas he does not care about). The distinction between "practice" and "natural characteristic" in the following table divides the sample into two groups according to the method by which the subjects feel that desired changes in their own behaviors, skills and abilities can come about. The "practice" category includes subjects who say that, in order to change they would have to exert effort, practice in a sport, for example, or study harder. The"natural characteristics" category refers to those subjects who feel that, in order to change in desired ways, they would have to develop a talent or change some fundamental natural characteristic.

Table 8.5 shows that a significant difference exists between the "initiators" and "reactors" in relation to what they see as the method by which they can make the kinds of changes made above: the choice of methods of change has important implications for the degree to which the subject feels he can effect change; the idea of practice suggests a belief that some concrete and feasible behavior is necessary for change, while the belief that a change in a natural characteristic is required, suggests a more passive and possibly fatalistic attitude. In this latter case it is as though the subject has said, " In order to change in the ways I'd like to change, I would have to be someone else."

The picture which emerges from these findings indicated that with reference to interpersonal self-description, "initiation" is related in important ways to feelings about the possibilities for change and the methods by which these can come about. These three variables all have to do with the individual's sense of being an effective agent in his social and physical environment. Without imposing fixed alternatives on interview questions, we were able to probe different areas of perceived effectiveness and trace their interrelationships. While the group of "initiators" seems to cluster relatively homogeneously in the direction of "agency", the "reactors" split almost evenly between those who feel they can change in some important ways and who view their competencies or "incompetencies" to be results of their instrumentality and those who feel they cannot change and who attribute the quality of their achievements to internal or external factors which are difficult to modify and over which they have little control. This splitting of the reactor group suggests that we ought not automatically to assume that, if a person is "reactive" in his descriptions of social interaction, he must also feel passive and pessimistic about changing his life. To use an extreme example, a highly authoritarian person, whose behavior is greatly dependent on the expectation of those he regards as his superiors, may yet feel that there are yet higher levels of obedience which he can attain through applying himself more fervently.

TABLE 8.5

Relationship Between Reactors and Initiators and the Methods By Which They Feel Desired Changes Can Come About

Methods by Which FC Feels Desired Changes Can Come About	Reactive-Initiative		
	Reactive	Initiative	TOTALS
Practice	19	15	34
Natural Characteristic	16	2	18
TOTALS	35	17	52

p level .05*

In Table 8.6, the "learned" and "natural" categories derive from a question that asked the subjects to list those traits, skills, and abilities in which they considered themselves superior to the average boy their age, and to explain why and how they gained this superiority. The "learned" category refers to those subjects who attributed their superiority to learning, practice, experience and/or due to their successful efforts at imitating others who were good at that thing. Subjects were designated to the "natural" (or "by default") category if they felt that their superiority could be accounted for by the presence of a natural ability, characteristic or talent, or that they were superior merely because other boys were inferior (i.e. by default). Essentially these two categories discriminate between those who report that they had little active role in becoming superior since they claim that their superiority is due to some inborn trait or to the inferiority of the others and those who feel that their superiority is due to their own efforts. One can infer that those subjects in the "learned" category have the belief that they can shape their behavior and successfully effect change, while it is still open to question whether the subjects in the "natural" category hold this view.

The table shows that subjects who portray themselves as primarily active and initiating in interpersonal relationships also tend to report that their superiority in certain areas is due to learning, practice or imitation. Those subjects who depict themselves as predominantly passive or reactive in interpersonal relationships claim that their superiority at certain things results from a natural talent or characteristic, or is gained by default. (The initiator-reactor dimension correlates with the "source of superiority" variable, -.28; it is negative because of the coding scheme. Inter-judge agreement in coding the "Better at" dimension was 89%.)

TABLE 8.6

Initiators and Reactors--Their Perception of Reasons for Superiority

Reactive-Initiative	FC's Perception of Reasons for his Superiority in Abilities and Skills over the Average Boy his Age: Learned	Natural	TOTALS
Reactive	9	29	38
Initiative	13	6	19
TOTALS	22	35	57

p level .003**

After examining these relationships, we decided to select out those FCs who had been scored as both "can change" and "practice" (in improving behaviors they said they were not good at) and to contrast them with those subjects who were characterized both as "can't change" and "natural" (i.e., who thought that self-improvement could only come through an alteration of innate or natural characteristics). In this way, we hoped to heighten the contrast between the extremes of an (implicit) sense of agency continuum and, thus, to clarify other associations. Table 8.7 is an example of one of these findings. It should be remembered that not all the FCs qualified for this analysis; as we said above we only looked at those FCs who were both "can change"/practice" and "can't change/natural".

We see in Table 8.7 that 14 out of 15 initiators feel that they can improve performance through practice whereas almost half the reactors feel they cannot change to improve performance because of a natural lack of talent. When this table is compared with tables representing the two variables it springs from, Tables 8.4 and 8.5, we see that the dichotomization represented in Table 8.7 is clearer than that in Table 8.5 (practice/natural) but less than in Table 8.4, suggesting that the can/can't change dimension is the more powerful. We will examine that dimension in a separate segment, below.

TABLE 8.7

Reactors and Initiators--Their View of Modifiability of Inferior Skills

FC's View of the Modifiability of His Inferior Abilities and Skills Through Practice	Reactive-Initiative Reactive	Initiative	TOTALS
Can Change	16	14	30
Can't Change Because of Natural Lack	12	1	13
TOTALS	28	15	43

p level .035*

The explorations into the ramifications of the initiator-reactor dimension led us to wonder if "initiators," since their self-perceptions seemed distinct enough for them to portray themselves as agents, also tended to distinguish more among the reference figures portrayed in the spy question than did the "reactors". "Distinguished among others" was operationalized in two ways: first, by coding FCs according to whether their instructions to the "spy: had him acting differently towards different reference individuals or classes of reference individuals (parents, peers, siblings, teachers); second, by coding FCs according to whether they differentiated among others as to the effects and motives others were experiencing, since the "spy's" behavior, to be most effective, might have to take into account the thoughts and feelings of those with whom he interacted. Tables 8.8 and 8.9 show the results of these runs, both of which confirmed our initial expectations. (Initiator-reactor correlates .45 with distinctions among others and .29 with introspectiveness.)

It was felt that one consequence of an individual's feelings of being an effective agent would be an awareness of a need to act differently towards different members of his social environment in order to be more effective in attaining personal and mutual goals. Therefore, we developed a code, "distinctions among others," which was operationalized according to whether FCs instructions to the "spy", in the "spy question", had him acting differently towards different reference individuals (who also may occupy different roles, e.g., parent, sibling, peer and teacher). Secondly, it was thought that the ability to deal successfully and effectively with others would also involve a tendency towards the individual to take into account his own thoughts, feelings and motives. Our "introspectiveness" variable measures this dimension; we classified subjects according to whether or not they talked about their motives and emotions in their instructions to the "spy".

Table 8.8 shows a significant association between FC's being an "initiator" or "reactor" and the tendency to "distinguish among others" as operationalized in his depiction of individual differences among other persons referred to in his answer to the "spy question": initiators tend to make more distinctions among others than do reactors. The major difference in proportion is between reactors who make few distinctions and those who make many (35:5).

In Table 8.9, the proportion of initiators who are rated as highly introspective is significantly greater than and in the opposite direction from the proportion of reactors characterized as high on introspectiveness.

TABLE 8.8

Reactors and Initiators--Distinctions They Make Among Others

	Distinctions FC Makes Among Others		
Reactive-Initiative	Few	Many	TOTALS
Reactive	35	5	40
Initiative	9	11	20
TOTALS	44	16	60

p level .001***

TABLE 8.9

Reactors and Initiators--Their Degree of Introspectiveness

	Degree of Introspectiveness		
Reactive--Initiative	Low	High	TOTALS
Reactive	28	12	40
Initiative	8	12	20
TOTALS	36	24	60

p level .05*

Table 8.10 shows that the tendency for initiators to make distinctions among people is not limited to reference individuals. Although this contingency table does not reach our criterion for statistical significance, it indicates two things: First, that the majority of FCs, whether initiator or reactor, tend to see differences between blacks and whites, and, secondly, that initiators are far more likely to see differences between the races than are reactors.

TABLE 8.10

Initiators and Reactors, Their Statements About Racial Differences

Initiator-Reactor	Perceives Racial Differences	Does Not	TOTALS
Reactor	29	11	40
Initiator	18	1	19
TOTALS	47	12	59

p level not significant

Evidence from another source supports the inference that the initiator-reactor dimension may be related to a sense of "control over the environment". In the preliminary analysis of occupational data, we noticed that several focal subjects, when asked what job would they least like to have, cited jobs which involved exposure to physical dangers, usually in the form of accidents or assaults. One boy said he wouldn't want to be a school teacher because kids might beat him up, or a driving teacher because the car might crash. Another boy said that he wouldn't want to be a spaceman because he might never come back, or a taxi driver because someone might stab him, or a plane pilot because the plane might crash on an icy day. Still other young men cite the dangers of being a policeman, bank teller, high-rise construction worker, garbage man (potential disease), and coal miner (cave-ins).*

One interpretation of this finding could be that black teenage boys fear physical danger per se in their own daily lives. However, we also know that danger is commonplace in the lives of black youth and is often sought after by some. Another interpretation is that feelings of vulnerability in the face of physical danger could be very close to a consciousness that the larger world, the "white world", is unpredictable, malevolent and dangerous. That this, when it exists is both established very early and linked to the experience of racial bigotry

*It is important to note that comparison interviews obtained from white children did not show the same intensity of concern with physical vulnerability; their least desirable jobs were more likely to be rejected for reasons of status, lack of mobility, or poor pay.

seems reinforced by data from a recent study by Dr. Alice S. Kandell (1967) involving 4th grade Negro and Puerto Rican boys:

> "In a further exploration of boys' expectations of their surroundings, they were shown a picture of four boys on a country road...the Negro children again characteristically had forebodings of extreme danger...not one of the Puerto Ricans saw signs of danger in this picture: rather, they told stories of children having fun."

Since the citation of "danger" as a reason for not wanting certain occupations is not generally found in the sample--only a third of the sample spontaneously cite "danger" as a reason for rejecting jobs, we hypothesized that it might be related to "reactivity." Table 8.11 shows such an association. Another indirect support comes from the positive correlation of .28 obtained between "initiation" and fighting which suggests that some of the initiators feel they have already learned to guard themselves from physical danger by adequately taking care of themselves in battles with their peers.

TABLE 8.11

Initiators and Reactors and Their Reasons for Negative Job Choices

Reasons for FC's Negative Job Choices	Reactor	Initiator	TOTALS
Danger	18	3	21
No Danger	16	17	33
TOTALS	34	20	54

p level .01**

In addition to its relationships with the variables with other relationships from the self-concept schedule, the initiator-reactor dimension correlates .27 with the continuum of strategic styles which runs "withdrawn-conformist-cool-smart-tough," indicating a modest association between "initiator" and what we have called the "expressive-impulsive" end of strategic style, and, suggesting that some of the "initiation" which was coded as an aspect of cognitive style is, in fact, expressed in behavior.

The Initiator-Reactor Dimension and Other Variables

The most important relationships between the initiator-reactor dimension and variables from other domains occur in the complex interactions around dropping out of school which we are holding for Chapter 10. However, some related runs will be presented directly below and in the presentation of the reactor-can/can't change findings in the next section.

Even though we tend to associate initiator-reactor with a sense of agency or effectiveness in specific areas salient to the FCs (or "control" as it was called in the discussion of Hypothesis VII in Chapter 4) we would not necessarily predict that initiators have higher educational or occupational aspirations and expectations than reactors. Indeed, as Table 8.12 indicates initiators tend more frequently than reactors (by almost 2-1) to expect not to go to college.

TABLE 8.12

Reactors and Initiators--Their School Expectations

Reactor-Initiator	FC School Expectations		
	No college	College	TOTALS
Reactor	11	20	31
Initiator	11	4	15
TOTALS	22	24	46

p level .01**

The picture of the initiators which is beginning to form suggests that they may feel effective in areas of what the Gurins (1969) refer to as "personal control" though some may be pessimistic about possibilities of success in the "system",--the educational system, as indicated by Table 8.8, and, inferentially, in the discussion of Hypothesis VII, and, in regards to the "opportunity system" as a whole, as shown in the following Table 8.13: initiators are more likely to feel that the opportunity system is more closed to them than open (by a 3-1 margin) whereas there is a lesser trend for (over half) the reactors to feel the system is open to them.

Tables 8.12 and 8.13 highlight the distinction between the more personal milieu in which the initiator views himself as acting, as capable of changing, and the larger society's opportunity structure. There is no necessary transfer from the more intimate world to the larger world of educational and occupational mobility; several of the boys in our sample who seem most "reactive" are relatively optimistic about their chances of attaining success through "playing the system." We have tended to think of the kind of agency exhibited by such individuals as "getting on the right track", in the sense that they analyze the straightest, least cluttered route to a goal, and simply "climb on" to a structured course of action which is known to lead to that goal. They don't need to improvise or to behave other than reactively, except that they might have to actively resist a limited range of activities considered as deviant to that route, which could get them "derailed."

TABLE 8.13

Initiators and Reactors--Their Sense of Whether System is Open or Closed to Them.

Initiator-Reactor	FC's Sense of Whether System is Open or Closed		
	Closed	Open	TOTALS
Reactor	18	23	41
Initiator	15	5	20
TOTALS	33	28	61

p level .03*

On the basis of this finding we predicted that initiators would tend to score higher than reactors on the (combined) racial identity scale. Although the probability level of the obtained contingency table (8.11) does not meet our criterion for significance, it fails by only one case, indicating that further tests of this *ad hoc* hypotheses on larger samples would be merited.

TABLE 8.14

Initiators and Reactors--Combined Racial Identity

Initiator--Reactor	Combined Racial Identity Low	 High	TOTALS
Reactor	25	15	40
Initiator	7	12	19
TOTALS	32	27	59

p level not significant

The last initiator-reactor table we cite (Table 8.15) is not significant, and difficult to interpret, but important nonetheless. When initiators and reactors are compared in terms of whether they are above or below the sample mean on total WISC (or WAIS) IQ scores, we find that, while reactors are evenly distributed above and below the sample mean, approximately three quarters of the initiators fall above the mean. This is particularly striking in view of the fact that most of the initiators come from the seventh grade while in general the ninth graders' IQs are significantly higher than those of the seventh graders.

TABLE 8.15

Initiators and Reactors' IQs

IQ Above Mean	Reactor	Initiator	TOTALS
Above	16	13	29
Below	14	4	18
TOTALS	30	17	47

p level not significant

Further comparisons between IQ scores to be reported below--in particular those involving the performance subscale, and personality or attitudinal variables will give additional support to our contention that personality and social factors contribute a great deal to the scores the FCs receive on IQ tests individually administered by black testers. We have already cited some tables of similar import above (Tables 7.15, 7.18).

The "spy" question and the "initiator-reactor" variable have been used in one other study to date. Lord*, studying black and white adolescent boys, found a significant positive relationship between "initiation" and higher "sophistication-of-body-concept" scores on figure drawings. She also found a significant positive relationship between "initiation" and the "activity" (as opposed to "passivity") of earliest memories recalled by the adolescents in her sample. Both findings were independent of race.

Reactors who "Can Change" -vs- Reactors who "Can't Change"

In the discussion of Table 8.1 we stated that we did not believe the 50-50 split of reactors on the "can change" -vs- "can't change" distinction signified no difference between the groups on that variable, though all the differences in proportion shown in that table came from the initiators who were predominantly (17 out of 18) "can change". The analysis to be presented here represents our attempt to trace out possible differences in the behavior of the two groups of reactors. The hunches we had were mainly intuitive: they are presented as they arose and clearly do not follow a logical sequence, nor are the justifications for these hunches either compelling in retrospect or necessarily related to the "real causes" of the obtained findings. But, rather than rationalize them and pretend we predicted from a rigorous hypothetico-deductive framework, we will offer them as food for thought and dispute. Reactors were dichotomized into those who said that they thought they could change to become better at behaviors and in activities they valued (but in which they felt less competent at than the average boy their age), and those who felt they could not change to achieve more competence, no matter what they did. We thought that the greater "optimism" of the reactors who thought they could change might derive from or be associated with their having a greater sense of effectiveness with non-verbal tasks than with verbal tasks(since they had already shown themselves to be relatively passive and non-initiating in interpersonal relationships), and that somehow they might be responding to a spatial-analytical competence relative to their own levels of achievement on either the WAIS or the WISC. We thought, in addition, and just as intuitively, (or "atheoretically") that these FCs might be less well socialized into expressivity than would be the reactive/can'ts. Therefore, we predicted that reactive children who thought they could change would each ("intra-individually") tend to have higher performance IQ subscale scores than their Verbal IQ subscale scores, while reactive children who felt they could not change would each have Verbal IQs either higher than or the same as their own Performance IQs. In Table 8.16 this prediction is confirmed. Also, there is a significant difference between the means of the reactive/cans and the reactive/can'ts on Verbal IQ: reactors who feel they can't change have significantly higher mean Verbal IQ subscale scores than those who feel they can change. The obtained 2-tail t test is significant at the .05 level. No other significant differences obtain between the means of either "reactor" group or the "initiators." However, the mean of the Verbal IQ scores for the initiator group which is, with one exception composed of "can change" FCs, is slightly higher than that of the reactor "can't change" group.

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*Lord, Mae Maskit, "Activity and Affect in Early Memories of Adolescent Boys," unpublished study, New York: City College, 1971.

(At the time these hunches were explored, we were unaware that a small body of research existed which attempted to replicate and further analyze findings to the effect that individual juvenile delinquents tended to score higher on the WISC Performance subscale than on the Verbal subscale. The most recent experimentation on this subject (Henning and Levy, 1967), which compared black and white adolescent samples concluded that their data did not support the hypothesized relationship of "Performance over Verbal IQ" with delinquency, nor was it associated for the black group, with the reading disability pattern which was found for the white group.)

TABLE 8.16

Reactors Who Can or Can't Change -vs- Performance IQ Higher Than Verbal IQ (both WAIS and WISC)

	Performance IQ Higher Than Verbal IQ (Both WAIS and WISC)		
Reactors Who Can or Can't Change	Yes	No	TOTALS
Can Change	13	1	14
Can't Change	7	7	14
TOTALS	20	8	28

p level .025*

In considering (the intra-individually) higher Performance IQ scores of the reactive/cans and the significantly higher mean Verbal subscale scores of the reactive/can'ts we began to wonder if the reactive/can't FC might tend to stay in school rather than dropping out while the reactive/can would tend to drop out. As regards the reactive/can't FCs we speculated: that he would by temperament respond, accept and conform to the requirements of the school system, that the sense that he could not change for the better in areas he values might mean that he would be less likely to look for alternatives outside of school, and that higher Verbal IQ scores could (if we viewed Verbal IQ as Coleman does, as a prime requisite for "making it in the system") mean, in the long run, that he had the potential for being well socialized into the general culture and that, in the short run, his verbal competence would be rewarded and supported by his teachers. On the other hand we felt that the reactive/can change FCs might possibly have the experience of relative competencies not fully rewarded or developed in the school setting, but which competencies could more meaningfully be expressed (so far as FC was concerned) outside of school (see also Chapter 4, Hypothesis VII).

On the basis of these speculations, we predicted that reactive/can't FCs would tend to stay in school, but that reactive-can FCs would tend to drop out. As Table 8.17 shows, this prediction was confirmed (The correlation between reactive/can't and dropping out was in the same direction, -.35).

TABLE 8.17

Reactors Who Can or Can't Change and Dropping Out

	Reactors Who Can or Can't Change		
Dropout FCs Last Year in School	Can Change	Can't Change	TOTALS
Dropout	13	5	18
Still In School	6	16	22
TOTALS	19	21	40

We also tested for differences between the means of the two groups for the the two IQ subscales. The results of two-tailed t tests showed that Reactive/Can't Change FCs had significantly higher Verbal subscale scores than the Reactive-Can Change FCs.

To test out the possibility that reactors who can't change were more accepting of the school structure, we predicted that they would be significantly lower on the two "hot water" indices of school trouble: "school defiance" and "hookey". The prediction was not confirmed so far as school defiance was concerned. There was, however, a significant association between playing hookey and the reactor/can can't change dimension in the expected direction, as is shown in Table 8.18.

TABLE 8.18

Reactors Who Can-Can't Change in Relationship to Playing Hookey

Does FC Play Hookey	Reactors Who Can-Can't Change Can	Can't	TOTALS
No Hookey	4	12	16
Hookey	14	6	20
TOTALS	18	18	36

p level .019*

The strategic style dimension was coded and analyzed after the foregoing runs were made. When Table 8.4 was first computed and the split between reactors who can change and reactors who cannot change was observed, we also hypothesized that reactors who thought they could not change were far more likely to be rated as "conformists" or "withdrawn" than to be rated as having any other strategic style, and that perception of oneself as being able to change for the better would be more likely to be associated with expressive or flexible strategic styles. Table 8.19 shows that slightly over half the reactors who think they cannot change are characterized as having either conformist or withdrawn strategic styles, whereas there are almost twice as many cool guys and smart guys who feel they can change, as who feel they cannot. (the "tough guy" strategic style was deleted from this table because there are only 2 cases out of 6 who are reactors and 1 of those is reactive/can, the other reactive-cannot change; we felt they would only add two unhelpful cells to the table.)

TABLE 8.19

Reactors Who Can or Can't Change in Relationship to Their Strategic Style

	Reactors Who Can or Can't Change		
Strategic Style	Can	Can't	TOTALS
Cool guy, smart guy	15	8	23
Conformist,withdrawn	4	10	14
TOTALS	19	18	37

p level .05*

In addition to the contingency tables reported above, a few important correlations were obtained between the reactive can/can't distinction and other variables. We have interpreted the "can change" response as signifying a degree of optimism on the part of FC towards the possibility of his improving performance in valued areas. It must be remembered that the responses which reflect this sense of optimism regarding potential effectiveness were limited to specific areas of behavior and (as in the case of the initiator-reactor runs previously discussed) are not necessarily related to more optimistic responses regarding success within the educational or occupational systems: in fact, reactors who said they did not think they could change had higher 1969 grades (.45). They also tended to perceive their fathers as wanting them to attain higher job levels (r (prestige)=.59; r (status) = .45) and as having higher negative job choices for them (.55). (Incidentally, it seems as though the mothers of these FC tended to be at home rather than working, the correlation with mother's occupational SES being -.55).

Some of these findings may seem paradoxical. The reactors can't seem to experience the least sense of control in interpersonal relationships and in terms of their feelings of being able to improve competencies, yet they are more optimistic regarding their potential academic and occupational achievements, and their estimate of the possibilities for social and economic mobility for black people. They are also, at the same time, cautious: not only (as part of the larger group of "reactors") do they generally avoid behavior which familial, educational or municipal authorities would proscribe as "deviant", but they seem less willing to innovate, to take risks, and less willing to move in the white world, especially when it requires being on their own. On the other hand, the initiators, as we said in the discussions of 8.12 and 8.13, expressed the most sense of control about areas more salient to them personally and in which they apply their own (rather than the general society's) standards of effectiveness, while expressing a greater degree of doubt about the existence of opportunities for social and economic mobility for black people in general and themselves in particular. Yet they appear to be more willing to take risks, to improvise, and to move into areas, both geographical and social, in spite of the fact that they might feel the probabilities of success to be low.

Though one might have expected the "can change" FCs to be higher in self-esteem than the "can't change" FCs, a significant correlation was obtained in the opposite direction (.31). On examination, this finding does not seem unreasonable: the self-esteem scale seems to tap FC's self-satisfaction as he currently perceives himself; many FCs who portray themselves as unable to change often describe themselves as though they were content with themselves as they were and did not want to change. Further, reactors who think they can change seem to resemble initiators in many ways, one of the major behavioral differences between the groups being that these reactors tend to dropout of school at a higher rate than either the initiators or the reactors who say they can't change. The following section, which describes the findings related to the can/can't change distinction, may help clarify these relationships.

The Can/Can't Change Distinction

Because all but one of the initiators feel that they can change in areas they value but in which they feel less than optimally competent, there is some overlap between the can/can't change variable and the initiator-reactor variable. The "can change" group will include all of the initiators except one and all of the reactive/can group. The "practice" and "natural" categories (first utilized in Table 8.2) refer to methods of obtaining desired behavioral changes, methods that were reported by the FCs in response to a question which asked them how they would go about changing those aspects of themselves that they felt they would like to change. The question required that the subjects only refer to those traits, abilities or skills in which they considered themselves less competent than the average boy their age group, and which they value enough to want to improve. (Subjects who answered the methods of change question by stating that change was impossible, were not included in this analysis.) Table 8.17 clearly indicates that those subjects who said that change could only come through practice and effort tended to feel that such change was possible and in their reach. Those subjects who reported that a change in a natural characteristic was required tended to express the pessimistic view that they felt change was impossible.

TABLE 8.20

Perception of Reasons for Inferiority Vs Can-Can't Change

FC's Perception of Reasons For His Inferiority in Abilities and Skills re: the Average Boy His Age	Whether FC Can--Can't Change		
	Yes	No	TOTALS
Practice, etc.	31	2	33
Natural	5	13	18
TOTALS	36	15	51

p level .000***

Table 8.21 depicts the relationship between FC's perception that he can or cannot change in areas of relative inferiority and his judgment as to how he achieved competence in areas wherein he feels his performance to be superior to that of his peers (the "learned" "imitated" -vs- "natural or by default" distinction which is elaborated further in the explanation of Table 8.6). This table shows that those subjects who feel that their superiority in certain areas is due to learning or imitation also tend to report that they believe they can change those aspects of themselves in which they feel incompetent. Those subjects who report that their superiority is due to a natural talent or the inferiority of others show a slightly greater tendency to believe that they cannot change in desired ways. However, a sizable number of the "natural" or "by default" group believe they would be able to improve in desired ways. These results lend additional support to our previous finding in Table 8.20 that there is a strong relationship between a sense that change is possible and the notion that active effort is involved in either becoming more competent or maintaining present levels of competence.

TABLE 8.21

Whether FC Can-Can't Change	FC's Perception of Reasons For His Superiority in Abilities and Skills Over the Average Boy His Age		
	Learned,Imitated	Natural,by Default	Totals
Can	17	14	31
Can't	3	21	24
TOTALS	20	35	55

p level .01**

We had earlier speculated that the Performance over Verbal IQ variable might be associated with a sense of the possibilities for change. Table 8.13 showed a relationship between FCs having a higher Performance subscale score than his Verbal and his being reactive can change. Since no such association had shown up when a similar relationship was sought with the initiator-reactor dimension, we thought that it had been masked by the reactive/can subsample and might be sharpened further with the use of the can-can't change distinction. Table 8.22 shows that there is a significant association between FCs perception that he can change and his Performance IQ subscale score being greater than his Verbal score; however, the discrimination between the cells is less fine than in Table 8.16, suggesting that the addition of initiators to the sample introduces additional heterogeneity into the table.

TABLE 8.22

Performance Greater Than Verbal IQ Vs Can-Can't Change

	Performance IQ is Greater Than Verbal IQ (Both WAIS and WISC)		
Can--Can't Change	Yes	No	TOTALS
FC Can Change	22	6	28
FC Can't Change	8	9	17
TOTALS	30	15	45

p level .05*

Some of the other trends which were observable in our work with the initiator-reactor dimension do seem to be evidenced more clearly in comparisons involving can/can't change. For example, as compared with those who feel that they cannot change, FCs who feel they can change are lower in self-esteem (.27), more likely to drop out(.27), and higher in (combined) racial identity (-.29). They also tend to come from the "expressive-impulsive" end of the strategic style continuum (-.37).

Many of the variables we have studied have turned out to involve more than one continuum; they often seem like variables that "speak with forked tongue", since a relatively homogeneous group may end up on one end of the (assumed) continuum while two distinct subgroups form the other end. (See Herzog, 1970, for a cogent discussion of this problem). The initiator-reactor dimension becomes one of this type of variable when considered along with the can/can't change distinction. Of the three subgroups which have emerged from this analysis (initiators, reactive/cans and reactive/can'ts), probably the reactive/can't change FCs are the most homogeneous: they tend to be father-present, to be middle children, to seem somewhat conformist, more highly verbal and to stay in school somewhat longer than the other two groups. From the point of both school and home conduct they would seem more obedient and socialized, less troublesome to authorities and, possibly, less controversial because they are less likely to have strong, positive identities as black young men. Not surprisingly, they seem somewhat more desirous of and sanguine about possibilities of "success within the system" and perhaps more content with themselves and the status quo. The initiators and reactors who say they can change seem to be more heterogeneous as subsamples. We have discussed this group of reactors in the previous section; they seem difficult to distinguish from the reactor/can't change group except in school-related areas, since they drop out more frequently, tend to have higher Performance IQ scores than Verbal, and have lower Verbal IQ scores than either of the other two groups.

Initiators are generally like each other in tending to think that they can change for the better, that their competence in some areas derives from practice and learning, and, likewise, that their relative inferiority in areas they value is not the result of their basic, unchangeable character or behavior, but, is due to inadequate learning or practice. They tend to be more analytical about people, more introspective and to distinguish more among others than reactors (though this does not imply that they are socially more "mature.") They are also more sensitive to racial differences. They present a mixed picture as regards to sense of agency or sense of effectiveness: they tend to be pessimistic about the "openness" of the system and possibilities for success within it, yet their pessimism does not seem to dampen their motivation and they do seem optimistic as regards more intimate areas of "control"--their own specific competencies and abilities to maximize factors which would increase their competencies. They also seem less vulnerable than reactors to fears of the malignity of the environment. The greater racial awareness and identification exhibited by the initiators seems quite compatible with their general sense that the opportunity structure is relatively closed. We only have the most minimal clues as to the source of "initiation" in terms of family background: initiators tend to be father-absent, but to occupy roles either of much greater or much less responsibility (as oldest or youngest children) in the fatherless family. Their relationships with their fathers are extremely complex (see Chapter 10), and will be delineated on a more individual and anecdotal basis in future work.

Of the variables we have studied, some of which cannot be given a full exposition in this document, initiator-reactor and can/can't change have both seemed related to that cluster of important and overlapping concepts which have been referred to as "internal -vs- external control of reinforcement", "sense of effectiveness", "sense of agency", and "fate control". Our findings generally support the position of researchers such as the Gurins (1969) and Kleinfeld (1968,1970) that, whatever it is labelled, the feeling that one can influence important outcomes in one's life is often specific to particular sphers of functioning.

Kleinfeld distinguishes among three different dimensions, each of which behaved differently in her research: beliefs about internal control of achievement, beliefs about external control of achievement and academic self-concept. The Gurins contrast "sense of personal control: with "control ideology":

> Usually it is the sense of personal control, but not control ideology, that differentiates motivation and performance. Students who have a high sense of personal control over their own lives also express heightened extectancies of success and self-confidence about their abilities for academic and job.

> performance; they also aspire to jobs that are more prestigeful, and demanding, and realistic in terms of their own abilities and interests, three characteristics of job aspirations that have been related to high achievement motivation in many studies in the achievement literature. In contrast, the students' beliefs about what generally determines success and failure have nothing to do with their self-confidence, personal expectancies, or aspirations. It is not surprising, therefore, that the total Internal-External Control scale, which includes items at both the personal and the ideological levels, predicts to these aspects of motivation either very weakly or not at all.
>
> In the performance area we find that the two control measures, the personal and the ideological, work in opposite ways. Students who are strongly internal in the personal sense have higher achievement test scores, achieve higher grades in college, and perform better on an anagrams task which was included in the instruments administered in the study. In contrast, students who are strongly internal in the sense of believing that internal forces are the major determinants of success in the culture at large (ideological) perform less well than the externally-oriented students. Given that these opposing results from the two types of control measures cancel each other, the total Rotter score understandably bears no relationship to these performance indicators.
>
> The motivational significance of the personal rather than the more ideological measure is also clear in our research on the high school dropouts. In that study, responses to questions that the general ideological level bore no relationship to the trainee's job success in the period following his training period. Questions tapping the trainee's sense of personal control or powerlessness were very clearly related to job success."

Our findings are, of course, not strictly comparable, since they are based on very different samples, methods (open-ended interviews), and codes which were developed from spontaneous responses. In addition, while variables derived from our self-concept interview schedule do generally reflect the same sort of "personal control" as conceptualized by the Gurins, the variables which deal with racial identity and awareness, particularly the "system open-closed" and "willingness to move in the white world" variables, are composed of questions formulated in both the first and third persons, and, therefore, combine Gurins "personal" and the "ideological" form. Nonetheless, these results are compatible in the sense that we found, both in the discussion of Hypothesis VII and in the presentation of findings on the initiator-reactor and can/can't change variables: that individuals varied in the extent to which they believed they could change their performance, and in the degree of control implicit in the reasons they gave for the relative superiority or inferiority of performance in valued areas. We also found that a sense of competence and ability to improve in some areas could exist along with a degree of pessimism regarding other areas. For example, reactor/can'ts could feel pessimistic about their "improvability" in valued behaviors, yet relatively more optimistic about their possibility of going on to college. In some cases, individuals particularly initiators, could hold strong doubts about the openness of the opportunity structure, yet at the same time "hang in" as far as school was concerned, or they could feel a greater sense of racial distinctness, pride, and stress the need for racial separateness yet still maintain a high level of "willingness to move in the white world."

The major difference between our findings and those of the Gurins seems to be that, while they found subjects who were strongly "internal" in the "personal" sense of control performed better in school while subjects from the Pathways sample who seem to have a strong "internal" sense of agency tended to become school dropouts. The major exception we observed to this tendency was that FCs who localized their competence and sense of control in terms of school or specific school-related tasks tended to stay in school, while those perceiving their competence to lie in skilled work uniformly dropped out. In the present studys, a "sense of internal control" clearly must still be tied to specific areas which are salient to the individual in terms of interest and perceived competence. These findings suggest that the power of "sense of control" variables in predicting to "real life" outcomes can be enhanced by a greater degree of specificity in the areas in which "sense of control" is evaluated.

From the point of view of previous research, one of the most important trends we found was the tendency of FCs who felt they could not change for the better in areas of performance which they valued to stay in school, while FCs who felt they could change, particularly the reactive/cans dropped out at a significantly higher rate. We should consider the implications of this finding in relation to Coleman's finding that black students expressed less "fate control" than white students. Suspending for a moment the doubts which Kleinfeld (1970) cogently expressed regarding the integrity of the "fate control index", it seems possible that many of the "high fate control: black students in Coleman's study (who would compare to some of the "can change" and some of the "Performance-over-Verbal" FCs in our study) could have dropped out before the Coleman survey was initiated, whether or not some of them may have been too young to drop out legally. It could be, then, that an important portion of the black, urban students who answered "fate control" questions in the "Equality of Educational Opportunity" survey represented students who had remained in school partially because they felt they could not improve performance in some areas important to them, and felt they had no alternative but to continue in the school system.

That this possibly selective sample of black students may have achieved low scores in fate control would not be surprising, but perhaps it should not be taken to mean that black adolescents are generally lower in "fate control" than white adolescents.

CHAPTER 9

RACIAL AWARENESS

Before beginning the discussion and summary of findings related to race, we want to make a few comments about some of the contradictions faced by young black Americans in attempting to form positive black identities and at the same time deal with the fact that they are, after all, Americans, whose families have usually been here longer than those of most white Americans. They all have identified to a great extent with this culture, no matter how much it has mistreated their ancestors, their immediate families, or themselves in the past, and no matter to what extent they may be conscious that the probability of their being treated a great deal better socio-economically, is against them, unless the socio-economic structure of the country should change markedly. In spite of all the internal and external pressures black youth may feel to identify (whether as a matter of fact. of a dominant *or* a persecuted caste) cannot be viewed as entirely separate from national identity. In all countries we would expect members of exploited and "outcast" groups to suffer somewhat from the effects of cultural discontinuities. To some extent they cannot help but accept the values and range of aspirations characterizing the general culture, but are prevented from attaining them by socio-economic barriers. These discontinuities, however may be less wrenching in a society such as India once was, where national values did not include social mobility and where material success was not the prime goal for the entire population. But such is not the case with the United States. In responding to our radio program "The World Across the Street" (Rosenthal, Bruce, Lee. 1966) Russell Kirk has cited de Tocqueville as saying that, "...in the American democracy all possibilities seem open to all men; therefore the typical American's life is spent in grasping at opportunities, theoretical opportunities, which rarely can be achieved and the American achieves indeed, less than he would otherwise because he seeks too much, too hastily and fails to concentrate upon a coherent and realizable object."

If all Americans are prone to indict themselves for never realizing all of the multifarious and ever more grandiose possibilities visible on the ever receding horizon how much more is the frustration and confusion of those American blacks and those of other racial and ethnic minorities who are encouraged, even taunted to seek these possibilities, but prevented from realizing those which are realistic. These citizens are in fact, also implicitly taught through American history (as it has heretofore been taught and lived) that the achievement which stimulated such infinite American longing was reached either *through their degradation*, as when they were slaves, *or without them*, as when they were replaced by machinery. In the following excerpt from a discussion of race by five black teenagers, we see graphically some of the difficulties, perhaps the impossibility, of trying to reconcile racial pride with the concept of national history which they undoubtedly share with most other boys their age.

Excerpts from a Group "Rap" on Racial Identity

Steve: ...why should people, you know, fight and everything, you know, carry on, you know, over just the color of somebody's skin? Not that we're so different, that doesn't make sense. Another reason is because the white people, the puritans, when we got here, I think they thought they were superior because the colored people were more primitive than them.

Eddie: I think the white people must think we still are slaves, or we are not human or something.

Mac: I think even the Redskin, as they were called, had a better advantage than the Negro, because the only reason they were, you know, mostly wiped out, was because the white man wanted their land. You know, he wanted to see progress going on, you know, made them take treaties, and they had to live in their special place, they could go to this place. Yet they were even here before the white man and if they needed a railroad, they say aw, yuck, who needs you, you know, you have to go for your own self and so they just say...they wouldn't kill them or nothing, you know, make them move, you know, and that thing, after they keep moving around, you know,...these kids, you know, start getting diseases, and everything and they just can't take it no more, you know, and that's how all this Indian fighting started; they wouldn't be fighting.

Eddie: I think if they left everything alone, you know, leave people where they were at first, you know, in their own countries, you know, I think it would be more better than now, advanced as far as it is now, as far ahead as it is now. I think it would be more better peaceful-wise.

Mac: We wouldn't be having the stuff that we have now, we wouldn't have the tape recorder that we're talking into, the electric light bulb and, you know, things that are made out of hand and everything, but all that modern stuff.

Eddie: We mighta, but we woulda been, you know, like in different countries.

Mac: That's why, that's why the white man moved all the Indians cause he wanted more progress, more land, more railroads and things like that, to get things from place to place, you know.

Eddie: There's no Negroes, you know, working where all these things have happened, you know, this country could fall apart, you know.

David: Well, put it this way we're going to talk about farms now. George Washington Carver, he was a Negro wasn't he? He was a Negro; if it wasn't for him we wouldn't have peanut butter, and peanut brittle, and all the other things from peanuts and paint and all that stuff, made out of peanut oil and everything. Where would we be without the Negro?

Eddie: Like Thomas Edison, who invented the what it's name.

Others: The lightbulb!

Eddie: Now what you gonna do with a peanut? You gonna eat it. You gonna make a peanut butter, Jim, whatcha gonna do with some paint, you gonna paint some walls. You could do that with some wallpaper, Jim, but look it, without the light bulb whatcha goin to do? You gonna use some jive candles. You gonna ruin your eyes, you gonna burn, you gonna ruin your eyes, and you can walk into a pole. Jim, you ain't got it made without the lightbulb. What? What peanut butter, man, you gonna put some jelly butter, jam and bread.

Mac: It isn't what you do that's that important that counts, you know, all the time, it isn't the big things that count all the time, you know, like the lightbulb, and him building...You think he should get more, you think he should be king or something, right?

Eddie: He shouldn't be king, he shouldn't be king.

Mac: That's what you're saying.

Eddie: No I ain't. I'm saying what can you do with peanut butter? You can't see where you are going with some peanut butter.

Mac: Somebody would have did it if he (Edison) didn't do it.

Eddie: That's just the point, Carver didn't do it. He did it.

Steve: Look Mackie, if your...connections have eyesight, of course you're going to walk into some poles, man, but if you have a candle...The regular life span is supposed to be 60 years old. Man, you'll still be able to see where you're going when you're sixty, you don't need lightbulbs. You can get around with candles.

Eddie: Why candles? Now look it, a candle...Look how much...

Steve: I told you, you don't need lightbulbs either.

Eddie: If your great great ancestors and everything didn't come over here by, you know, slavery, you'd be in Africa now. And you think you would have electricity?

Mac: That's right.

Eddie: Do you think you would have the light bulb?

Mac: No, but lookit...Whitey needed someone to do his work, he went and got you, he went and got your behind and took you over here to do his work. That's what he did.

Eddie: And yet you listened to his gossip, huh, and they obey him and they bowed to him like a king or something.

Mac: You might bow to him, but I don't bow to white people.

Eddie: Right now, if he's standing here, Macky, you'd bow to him. Right now if you're sitting, you're bowing. When he tells you what to do, do you do it? Yes.

Mac: No.

Eddie: He tells you what to do. He doesn't tell you what to do?

Mac: No.

Eddie: He says you have to go to school until you're 16. He made... Whitey made the law. Whitey. Didn't he? He made the law. He tells you what to do. Matter of fact he's trying to help you if you want a decent education.

Mac: I'm glad he told me to go to school.

Eddie: I bet if he told you it was time to go to bed, you'd go to bed at that time too, huh?

Mac: No. Now look here, he telling us law. Law helps us, you fool! Law do help us, right?

Eddie: Yup.

Mac: That's right, and that law, going to school, that helps you to go to school, get your education, get you a job.

Eddie: I'm not talking about that. I'm talking about if he told you to be, say, not good, say you did something bad right now. He would pass a law, you would do it or you would be forced to do it.

Mac: Man, I wouldn't do it; that's all there is to it.

Eddie: Like if he told you to work in a factory, and if you worked in a factory, for 20 hours a week, got off 4 hours, you'd do it, you'd have to do it, he'd make you do it.

Mac: No I wouldn't. He can't do it though! He ain't done. He can't do it! You know better than he ain't gonna do it! He get thrown outa the government...Well, let him do it! Let him do it if he think he can do it. But he can't do it!

Eddie; He *can* do it!

Mac: No he *can't*!

Eddie: Yes he *can*. He can do *anything* he tells you to do.

Problems of Assessing Responses to the "Racial Awareness" Schedule

Of the six major areas of experience and attitudes which are examined in the present study, the two least susceptible to summarizing a statistical reporting are *Race* and *Work*. In regards to both of these areas, there is such complexity and ambiguity in the responses that it would seem that only a painstaking analysis, case by case, could adequately represent the feelings and experiences of the focal subjects. So far as the work area is concerned, we will go into the reasons why this should be so in Chapter 11. Here we will speculate about several of the reasons about why this might be the case regarding the racial awareness schedule.

First, the position of black people in America has necessitated almost schizophrenic splits in the experience and presentation of self. As has been starkly documented for generations, we know of the differences between the faces and traits black people were required to present to whites who had social or economic power over them, and the actual feelings and characteristics blace people could express in the relative sanctity of their own homes and communities. Along with this split between the *public nigger* and the *private black human being*, was facilitated a split, at times a chasm, between personal and racial identity. Our Northern American culture seems to explicitly and implicitly value the concept of a "core identity", a sense of self which underlies and unifies disparate experiences and, often, a multiplicity of roles which an individual may engage in and which may or may not seem to be conflicting at various times. (Whether this notion of core identity is either accurate or functional is another matter. Many other societies seem less concerned with both the preeminence of individuality or the necessity for individuals to have congruent sets of "sub-identities.")

Much of the early writing on black self-concept, particularly that of psychoanalytic writers, assumed that the devastating experience of membership in a racial group which was held in contempt by the dominant society would have to result in pervasive feelings of self-hatred and incompetence for black people in general. One programmatic consequence of this assumption could have had effects diametrically opposed to its intent: namely, the notion, that, since black children had uniformly negative self-esteem, by directly nurturing their emaciated valuations of self (with no necessary connection to specific areas of actual and potential competence), educators could enable them to conquer the stigma of blackness, achieve pride in their race and to get them to stop either acting up or sleeping in school and thereby improve scholastic performance and, inferentially, (though not actuarially), their chances of vocational and financial success. With its stress on the great reservoirs of ego strength to be found within black people who, by all rights, could have been driven either catatonic or horricidal by their experience, the work of Robert Coles was one of the earliest and most direct challenges (by an "insider") to the stereotypic assumptions of black self-hatred which were held by the mental health, educational and social-scientific establishments. Many black authors and scientists had earlier written against these views, but, not surprisingly, had gone unheeded.

The assumption of many previous writers that black people, because of destructive interracial experiences, had to experience, at least "unconsciously" all-pervasive feelings of self-hatred was never either empirically or theoretically sound. The need for the maintenance of dignity and self regard is so powerful in people that, in the most miserable and stressful situations, and regardless of the degree of constraints placed upon their freedom by others or even by themselves, people will always manage to find something that they feel they can do or be which expresses their need for, and buttresses their feelings of, self-esteem. However the black American may have been despised, degraded and oppressed, he could and did develop competencies and a sense of mastery in areas which were sanctioned as open to him, and often, in the areas which were not yet open to him he could prepare himself for the time when he would, if necessary, force open the gates.

What we are saying is, simply that: 1) because of the bifurcation between racial experience and individual self-esteem induced by the racism of the society, there may not be much congruence between a black person's racial identity and other aspects of his self-concept, and, 2) that the experience of racial pride or identification with one's fellow blacks may also be fragmented or ambivalent. (Clearly, the healing of such splits is one of the prime aims of the black liberation movement.) Therefore we expected to find some degree of association between aspects of racial identity and personality attributes, but not a great deal.

To get back to the present study, this sort of fragmentation was often reflected in the interviews by much qualifying of responses and, at times, by overly inconsistent attitudes - a tinge of anti-black sentiment in one of the most articulately militant focals, a vein of strong identification with fellow blacks on the part of a boy who was one of the most introversive, frightened, and least racially aware in the sample, a willingness to be integrated into and fully and cheerfully exploit the "white system" on the part of one of the most avowedly anti-white and separatist young men. These complexities exist; none of them could be coded into the kind of classifications that would permit nonparametric analyses which are central to this report. Since many of the responses were, thus, not codable, it also was particularly difficult to locate the bases of racial attitudes in familial attitudes. In addition, we've found many examples of families in which parents may share a particular orientation to race but where three different siblings who are close in age may have markedly different attitudes toward their color, their community, and the white world. Also, we have found that neither the racial quietism nor militance of parents and older relatives predicts the racial orientation of the focal children.

Another reason why this racial material was difficult to analyze had to do with the low level of clearly articulated racial awareness abroad in the community at that particular time. Regardless of what the more political spokesmen in the community might have wished, and in spite of the fact that the black community of Boston has been in the forefront of the freedom movement, both in terms of organizational innovations and in terms of the burgeoning of grass-roots talents, community organizing in any intensity had not taken place at the neighborhood level at the time of the first round of interviews, and the level of detailed political consciousness of the historical, social and politial situation of black people was relatively low in the majority of poor black families such as those from which our sample was selected. Though the schools had experienced increasing upheavals, no situation had developed which paralleled that of, say, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville scene in New York where the level of community participation was so intense that the organizers ultimately had to take their cues from the people instead of vice versa.

Our initial readings of available Time 2 interviews shows that the race section now elicits more coherence, consistency and specificity in responses than we had previously found. We do not feel this to be mainly a function of the fact that the focals are older but that it is due to the mounting salience and exposure of racial issues in the society, and the proliferation of material relevant to the black experience.

Although we might expect that Time 2 will yield more instances of congruence between aspects of racial identity and self-concept, the search for those background factors which facilitate the development of racial pride ultimately must focus on individual lives and histories.

Coding Reliability of Race Variables

Most of the variables in the study were coded by researchers who happened to be white. However, it was felt that the racial variables would be particularly vulnerable to bias - white coders might either construct different coding categories for given variables than would black researchers; they might tend to classify responses within categories differently, or they might misunderstand responses because of lack of familiarity with the black subculture. Therefore black researchers who had been involved in the construction of all instruments also participated in both the development of all race variables and in the reliability coding of responses on all the major variables which called for interpretation. Racial Awareness interview protocols of a randomly selected sample of focals were coded by 2 black and 3 white coders after conferences were held on the intent of the variables and the adequacy of coding categories. In the reliability coding, there were no notable differences observed between black and white coders and the reliability of coding over all such variables was 95%.

Level of Knowledge about Black History and Life

Of the measures which were included under the heading level of Negro knowledge (the word "Negro" rather than "Black" was used at the time of questionnaire construction), two were included in the analysis of intercorrelations: knowledge of groups and leaders and the summary Negro knowledge scale. It should be understood that the level of knowledge about black history, culture and current affairs which was attained, was for most of the boys in the sample, a result of their own initiative - their "scanning" for information about their subculture, their seeking public and historical identification models in the media and the written word as well as through exposure to family members and their peers. Although most members of the sample report having experienced school discussions of black history or racial matters, especially during the yearly token "Negro History Week", either the information conveyed at that time or the level of retention seemed so low as to give the impression of only isolated and symbolic official public school support for the "identity hunger" many were experiencing at that time. Therefore, most of those FCs who were highest in the level of awareness of information about blacks in American seemed often to search for it by themselves. Although we obtained significant correlations between most of the level of Negro knowledge variables and other race variables, it is difficult at this time to develop a clear sense of to what extent scores on the two level of Negro knowledge variables should be viewed as by-products of intellectual curiosity, and verbal facility (including reading ability) and to what extent they spring from other factors, perhaps familial racial attitudes. Because we can only begin to answer such questions on an individual-case basis, we will simply summarize the wide-ranging correlates of these measures below.

As regards to demography and family, level of knowledge of Negro groups and leaders is higher for 9th grade FCs than for 7th, (.55). This measure of "Negro Knowledge" is also positively associated with quality of family life,(.41) and the availability of male models, (.28). As regards self-concept variables, FCs who score in the higher ranges of this variable tend to be high in ranges of the knowledge of Negro groups and leaders variable tend to be high in self-esteem (.32), and, they tend to ascribe the causes of relatively poor performance in valued areas as due to lack of practice or inadequacy of learning rather than conditions over which they have no control (-.126). When we consider academic performance and expectations, we find that FCs who are higher in knowledge of Negro groups and leaders also tend to think they will do well in school (.35), are less likely to fight (-.29), out of school and will stay in school longer than those who are lower on this scale, (.44). They also feel more willing to move in the white world, (.42). In terms of occupational attitudes, they tend to have a clearer idea of the work involved in their first job choices, (.31) and they are less likely to make what we have called "fantasy" ideal job choices than more attainable selections, (-.27). The crucial relationship might be a correlation of .38 with Wechsler Verbal IQ subscale scores if we are interested in pursuing the hypothesis that the "level of knowledge" variables may be a function of intellectual acuity and interest, though we tend to feel that the interest is also fuelled from other sources.

The total Negro knowledge variable includes knowledge of groups and leaders but the correlations obtained with the summary index do not show a great degree of overlap, suggesting that the component scales should be run separately in future analyses. As with knowledge of Negro groups and leaders, those who are higher in total Negro knowledge are likely to be 9th graders, to score in the upper levels of the distribution of Verbal IQ scores and to be high in willingness to move in the white world. In addition, they seem to have mothers who are higher in occupational status, and tend to feel that the opportunity structure is closed to blacks.

Race and the Choice of Famous Historical Models

The choice of famous black contemporary or historical identification models has several important correlates. Earlier, in Chapters 4 and 7, we cited positive associations between FC's preference for famous black models, number of males available to FC, number of males chosen be FC, and, most important, the quality of his relationship with his father, whether the father is living in or out of the house. These associations bespeak an intimate relationship between the existence and proximity of males with whom FC has a positive relationship and his ability to identify with famous blacks and possibly with other members of his community. These relationships are perhaps more striking when viewed from the other poles of the continua: unless FC has a positive relationship with a male who is either related to him or who is not kin to him but with whom he has regular contact, he is either likely to have no historical model with whom he identifies, or to choose a white model, the emulation of whom, we assume, may always be difficult, and the choice of whom may represent an estrangement from others of his group.

We also found an important relationship between extent of FC's knowledge of current and past Negro history and affairs and his nomination of a famous black man as historical or contemporary model. As Table 9.1 indicates, although only the extremes of the comparison show a significant association, there is a notable trend to the effect that the more FC knows about black culture, history and current events, the more likely he is to identify with a famous black model: whereas the less he knows, the stronger will be his tendency to either identify with either white models or to have no models at all.

TABLE 9.1

Race of Famous Person FC Would Like to be Versus Knowledge of Current and Past Negro History and Affairs

Race of Famous Person FC Would Like to be	Knowledge of Current and Past Negro History and Affairs Low	Medium	High	TOTALS
No Model/White	17	11	7	35
Black	4	10	10	24
TOTALS	21	21	17	59

p level not significant; extremes significant at .05*

Although there is no direct relationship between FC's relationships with males known to him and knowledge of Negro history, etc., a significant positive correlation (.41) was obtained between another familial variable, quality of family life and a related "black knowledge" variable, knowledge of Negro groups and leaders. We interpret the gist of these associations to suggest that positive experience with important familial (or surrogate) reference figures does facilitate FC's identification with famous blacks and, inferentially, with the fate of his racial group.

Along with the attempt to delineate the familial bases of black identification, we were concerned with the analysis of the areas in which the famous models selected by FCs achieved their greatness or notoriety. We expected famous models in particular areas of achievement to have differential relationships with particular variables depending on whether they mirrored those paths of success which have been historically open to blacks. In other words, since the paths of access to fame for blacks have been most open in areas such as sports, entertainment and the media, we predicted that those FCs who had famous black models would tend to select models from those particular areas. On the other hand, since blacks have been and still are denied the same accessibility to social and political power, we expected that those focals who identified with famous models characterized by "good works, science, politics/charisma, power" would have selected white models. Table 9.2 confirms this prediction.

TABLE 9.2

Nature of Famous Person FC Would Like to be versus Race of Famous Person FC Would Like to be

Nature of Famous Person FC Would Like to be	White	Black	TOTALS
Sports, Celebrity	5	19	24
Good Works, Science, Politics/Charisma, Power	18	5	23
TOTALS	23	24	47

p level .005**

Willingness to Move in the White World

Not only are the black man's historical paths of access to success and fame reflected in FCs' choices of black models, as depicted in Table 9.2 but the categories of areas in which FCs' historical models achieved renown are related to their perceived or anticipated social mobility: Table 9.3 shows that the FCs who are most *willing to move in the white world* are most likely to have famous models which reflect the paths of access that have characterized the majority of blacks who have achieved notoriety in the United States. (It is also interesting to note, that, contrary to expectations, there were more FCs with *no* famous models who expressed willingness to move in the white world than who did not.) There is no necessary disparity between the selection of a black athlete or celebrity as a model (rather than a figure distinguished for his attainment of social or political power) and the political implications of positive racial identity. It is likely that Time 2 will yield an increase in the selection of black models in the "power/charisma" category and, possibly as a result of both increased maturity (since 9th graders are higher than 7th graders in willingness to move) and greater exposure to other blacks, militant or not, who are "making it" in or through the system, we will see a rise in the frequency of FCs who are coded as high on the willingness to move in the white world scale.

TABLE 9.3

Nature of Famous Person FC Would Like To Be
Versus Willingness to Move in a White World

Nature of Famous Person FC Would Like To Be	Willingness to Move in a White World			
	Low	Medium	High	TOTALS
No Model	1	6	6	13
Sport, Celebrity		12	11	23
Good Works, Science, Politics	3	8	4	15
Charisma, Power	4	3	1	8
TOTALS	8	29	22	59

p level .022*

In previous discussions of differences among FCs which have been associated with disparities between Wechsler Verbal and Performance subscale scores, we have suggested that higher levels of achievement on the verbal subscale might be viewed as a sign of socialization into the dominant culture. An additional source of confirmation for this view may be found in the relatively substantial positive correlation of .49 between Verbal IQ and willingness to move in the white world. We would speculate that there is a subgroup of the sample whose sense of the possible gains to be gotten from mobility in the white world is fueled by their competence in the language of the dominant culture, and, probably, by the fact that they are rewarded in school for such competence. That there is no necessary conflict between mobility in the white world and racial identity has been shown earlier in the association between willingness to move and both the (combined) racial identity scale and perceived darkness of skin.

The findings relevant to this variable seem cohesive except for the negative correlation (-.32) obtained between willingness to move and relationship with father: some of the FCs who are most willing to move in the white world report poor relationships with their fathers. This is in spite of the fact that both willingness to move and relationship with father are positively correlated with the selection of black famous models. Further analyses will have to be conducted in order to determine the source and meaning of this association.

Militant Racial Identity

The militant racial identity scale yields relatively few important associations, mainly because of the relatively brief exposure to the black liberation movement which the FCs had experienced at the historical moment in which they were interviewed. Few boys in the sample fell on either the high or low extreme of the scale; most fell in the middle range either because of their own ambivalance, a perceived lack of information or because of the highly qualified nature of their responses. Therefore, we performed only a few exploratory cross-tabs utilizing that variable.

In Chapter 6 we mentioned a significant association between father's occupational SES and militant racial identity. In addition to that, the only statistically significant correlations obtained were: a negative correlation(-.26) with system open-closed, to the effect that militant racial identity was, not surprisingly, associated with the perception that the opportunity structure in the United States was relatively closed to black people; an association between militance and the expression of a preference to remain black or to become a member of another "colored race" when FCs were asked, hypothetically, what race they would prefer to switch to (.27); and a tendency, for more militant boys to also be initiators who feel they can change for the better, who attribute their competence and the possibilities for constructive change to factors which they can control, and who tend to be sensitive in their perceptions of other people (as represented by a correlation of .27 with the combined self-concept variable.

We expect that Time 2 data will show a more even distribution of scores on the militant racial identity scale.

Findings cited earlier showed that combined racial identity was related to the father's occupational (prestige) level, FC's coming from an extended family and his willingness to move in the white world. Though there was no overall relationship with system open-closed, when we constructed separate contingency tables for FCs who perceived the opportunity structure as open and those who perceived it as closed, we obtained different results. There was no relationship between system-open and willingness to move, but, of the system-closed focals, those who were high in racial identity tended to be high in willingness to move, while those low in racial identity expressed less desire for mobility.

Another indication, in this case implicit, of a link between racial identity and willingness to move is presented in Table 9.4: in spite of what we might expect regarding the separatist inclinations of young black men who are high on racial identity, there is a significant positive association between racial identity and approval of interracial dating so long as the interracial dating involves black males going out with white females. As we would expect, the reverse does not hold since it is felt that black females' dating of white men not only deprives black teenagers of access to girls from their own community but, it is expressive of generations of sexual exploitation of black women by white men.

TABLE 9.4

Combined Racial Identity Versus the Question of Black Males Dating White Females

Combined Racial Identity	Should Black Males Date White Females? No	Yes	TOTALS
Low	16	8	24
High	8	16	24
TOTALS	24	24	48

p. level .025*

In the beginning of this chapter, we had spoken of the need to analyze "self-identity" and racial, or group, identity separately because there are many reasons why they might not correlate. We did find two major links between these two domains of identity. There was a significant positive relationship between racial identity and FC's judgment that he could change for the better, and, in Table 8.14, a notable but non-significant trend for initiators to be higher in racial identity than reactors. This latter trend is substantiated by two "overlapping" correlations between racial identity and composite variables which include the can/can't change distinction. The clearest corroboration is found in a significant correlation (.36) between racial identity and the "initiator-can change/practice-introspective makes distinctions among others" end of the self-concept continuum. The other correlation (-.37) is between racial identity and the "can change through practice" variable: the higher is FC's score on the racial identity scale, the more likely he is to feel capable of changing for the better on his own initiative.

It is difficult to establish the causal direction of these associations. Do the familial or psychogenic factors which enhance the development of a sense of agency and optimism about the possibility of growth and constructive change provide a climate which will also favor the growth of racial pride? Or does the development of a sense of group identity, particularly the sense that it is worthwhile to be a member of a group which has been oppressed, can act as an anchor, a point of constancy from which the black adolescent can develop or sustain a more articulated sense of self, which involves a belief in the possibilities of his maximizing his competence and his being an active and effective agent in his interpersonal relationships. In either case, the individual who is able to manage both a sense of his personal effectiveness and a positive racial identity will be, as black people would say, a more "together" person.

When racial identity is run against strategic style, no significant association is obtained. We had thought that high racial identity might be associated with association/"expressive-impulsive" end of the strategic style continuum and, therefore, grouped the "cool, smart, and tough guys together, comparing them to the "withdrawn kids" and the "conformists". The distribution of cell frequencies obtained in Table 9.5 fall one case away from the distribution necessary to meet the criterion for significance, but suggesting that it still may be worthwhile to test for the expected relationship with a larger sample. If Table 9.5 is expanded to separate the different styles, as in Table 9.6, we see that cool guys, as we might have expected, and tough guys regarding whom we had no directional intuition, together had more representatives in the high racial identity category by almost 2-1, while the smart guys, whom we expected to produce more examples of high racial identity than low were 2-1 in the opposite direction. As expected, the "withdrawn kids" had the smallest ratio of FCs with high racial identity (1:4), followed by the conformists who were slightly over twice as likely to score low on racial identity than high.

TABLE 9.5

Strategic Style in Relationship to Combined Racial Identity

Strategic Style	Combined Racial Identity Low	High	TOTALS
Cool Guy/ Smart Guy/ Tough Guy	19	21	40
Withdrawn/ Conformist	14	5	19
TOTALS	33	26	59

p level not significant

TABLE 9.6

Strategic Style	Combined Racial Identity Low	High	TOTALS
Withdrawn	4	1	5
Conformist	10	4	14
Cool Guy	7	12	19
Smart Guy	10	5	15
Tough Guy	2	4	6
TOTALS	33	26	59

p level .122

System Open-Closed

The findings regarding the system open-closed scale may be summarized as follows. The FCs who see the opportunity structure as closed to blacks but who are high on the (combined) racial identity scale also express greater willingness to move in the white world; there is no such relationship for those who see the system as open. In general, initiators tend to more frequently see the system as closed than do reactors. Although there is no overall relationship between the (combined) racial identity scale and the perceived openness of the system, the more militant FCs tend to see the system as closed. It is possible that those FCs who perceive that blacks are restricted in their access to social and occupational opportunities have learned about these restrictions through greater interest in and exposure to black historical and cultural material. Table 9.7 shows that the more FC knows about black history and current affairs, the more likely he is to perceive the system as closed. Similar significant associations have been found with the "knowledge of Negro groups and leaders" and the "grand total of Negro knowledge" scales.

It is important to remember that these effects occurred without FCs having been systematically exposed to material relevant to black culture or to the facts about the socio-economic outlook for blacks in America. On the basis of these data we would predict that a probable consequence of the systematic teaching of accurate black and American history in the public schools will be an intensification of the feelings on the part of black people that equal opportunity does not exist for them in this country and an increase in their antagonism towards the status quo. Since there can be no further postponement of the need to teach an accurate and full history of the United States to students, black and white, this consequence should be recognized in order that curriculum developers begin to devote some of their efforts towards building courses which can channel the energies released by the inevitable breakdown of prevailing mythologies about our country into an understanding of the necessities and possibilities for constructive change.

TABLE 9.7

FC's Sense of Whether System is Open or Closed to him in Relationship to his Knowledge of Current and Past Negro History and Affairs

FC's Sense of Whether System is Open or Closed to Him	Knowledge of Current and Past Negro History and Affairs			
	Low	Medium	High	TOTALS
Closed	7	12	13	32
Open	14	9	4	27
TOTALS	21	21	17	59

p level .028*

At the time our sample was interviewed, the term "black power" had just begun to gain currency among the less political citizens of Boston's black community. Many of the boys, particularly those who had harbored few doubts about the openness of the socio-economic structure and the existence of "equality of opportunity" in the United States were confused and suspicious about the implications of the term, while those who saw the system as closed tended to view the concept as both necessary and constructive.

TABLE 9.8

FC's Sense of Whether System is Open or Closed to Him in Relationship to His Black Power Feelings

FC's Black Power Feelings	FC's Sense of Whether System is Open or Closed to Him		
	Closed	Open	TOTALS
Basic Disapproval/Don't Know, No Comment	13	20	33
Basic Approval	19	6	25
TOTALS	32	26	58

p level .01**

Stereotyping

The stereotyping variable was one of the least productive of the race variables which were coded. Because we expect that it will yield more interesting findings at Time 2 we are presenting two tables for the sake of future reference.

In the interpretation of findings obtained with the stereotyping variable, it must be remembered that the prime distinction is between those who see no difference between blacks and whites except for skin-pigmentation and those who feel that there are important cultural, socio-economic or behavioral differences associated with race. The second group is further separated in the coding into those who attempt to explain the causes or factors underlying the differences between blacks and whites (i.e, those who make analytical statements), and those who make generalizations about important interracial differences, but who don't try to explain them.

We had originally conceived of such generalizations as being "stereotypic." However, as we have discussed earlier, we found that many of these generalizations seemed to us to be descriptively accurate, e.g., "whites have higher opportunity" or "the white has a better community to live in better surroundings." In fact, after reviewing and thinking about the FCs responses in regards to racial differences, it seemed more appropriate to label those answers, often almost automatic, which claimed that blacks and whites were exactly the same, as stereotypic responses.

Table 9.9 shows that FCs who see no differences between the races are twice as likely to disapprove of riots, while FCs who think that blacks and whites differ in important ways are almost twice as likely to approve of the ghetto rioting. We should make clear that in most cases "approving of riots" was elaborated to mean either that FC felt that rioting was a justifiable response to intolerable social conditions or that the ultimate aim of the riot was judged to be constructive.

TABLE 9.9

FC's Reaction to Riots in Relationship to His Statements About Racial Differences

	Stereotyping--FC's Statements About Racial Differences		
FC's Reaction to Riots	Yes, differences	No differences	TOTALS
disapproval and no reactions	16	8	24
approval	30	4	34
TOTALS	46	12	58

p level .05*

In the second example, Table 9.10, the smallness of the N is due to the difficulty we had in evaluating and coding available data relevant to school punishment, particularly the problem of assessing the time the punishments occurred and their frequency. Of this small group, 15 out of the 16 who say that there are important differences between blacks and whites were either hit, suspended, or expelled from school, whereas only 3 out of 6 of the FCs who feel that there are no differences between the races received severe punishments in school.

TABLE 9.10

School Punishment in Relationship to Stereotyping(FC's Statements About Racial Differences)

School Punishment	Yes, differences	No differences	TOTALS
No or Mild Punishment	1	3	4
Hit	3	1	4
Suspended or Expelled	12	2	14
TOTALS	16	6	22

p level .055

Further implications of these findings will be discussed in the summary of this report.

CHAPTER 10

SCHOOL VARIABLES

Introduction

The following discussion will attempt to uncover some factors associated with dropping out or staying in school. As of June of 1969, 26 FCs had left school before graduation; 16 of these subjects were in the original 7th Grade Sample and 10 were in the 9th Grade Sample. The school status of all the subjects was determined by official reports obtained from the Boston Public School System, and by questioning the subjects themselves in 1970. Focal children who had dropped out of school prior to June 1969, but had gone back to Public School, or were in a private or special school program as of June, 1969, were not considered dropouts for the purpose of this report.

The bulk of our findings stem from a systematic analysis of interviews with the focal children; hence this report is primarily concerned with the subjective views and experiences of these subjects. Additional information taken from official school records about school performance, and attendance has also been included in the analysis.

We will look at the findings associated with staying in or leaving school as they emerged in the following areas: demography and family, IQ, school experiences, grades and school aspirations, self-concept, racial identity and work aspirations. Because of the complex and dynamic nature of the interviews with the focal children, these areas necessarily interact and, thus, cannot be examined as totally separate entities. Although there were some suggestions of important differences between the seventh and ninth grade sub-samples, the two groups will be treated as a unit unless otherwise specified. We intend, at a later time, to do a more detailed analysis of differences between these two groups.

Demography and Family

It is interesting that almost none of the demographic or family related variables were directly and significantly associated with staying in or leaving school. There were, however, several fascinating results which deal with father absence or presence and relationship with father, in interaction with certain self-concept variables; these will be outlined below.

Certain notable trends emerged, however, that have to do with family factors and early, as opposed to late, school withdrawal. It was found that earlier dropouts came from homes that were characterized as excessively stressful (Table 10.1). Further, we found that focal children who did not mention having any close relationship with adult males also tended to leave school earlier (Table 10.2). Finally, there was some suggestion in the data that father absence is associated with leaving school earlier, since a significant relationship exists between father absence and dropping out in 1968, but not in 1969 (Table 10.3). Also, we found that four out of five of the subjects who dropped out during, or right after they were in the seventh grade, were father absent (Table 10.4). These findings lend support to the work of other investigators (e.g., Cervantes, 1966) which indicate that family factors have considerable importance for early school withdrawal, and are later supplanted by other social and psychological influences that might derive, for example, from peer group and street life.

Focal children who came from homes with the highest family support ratings, and/or families that were judged to be above average in quality, tended to stay in school. In addition to the finding that focal children who dropped out earlier had less supportive family lives, there was a trend to the effect that proportionately fewer stay-ins had relationships with their fathers (absent or present) which were rated as negative or neutral (Table 10.5). It should be noted that dropouts were evenly divided in terms of relationship with father, and that father-absence was not directly associated with dropping out except in 1968.

Statistically significant correlations were obtained to the effect that staying in school was negatively related to family size (.30) and number of siblings (.27). (Some of the correlations we report are inverse but come out mathematically negative because of our coding system.) Finally, it was found that none of the only children in the sample failed, or dropped out of school.

TABLE 10.1

Dropout FC's Last Year in School Vs. Quality of Family Life

	Dropout FC's Last Year in School						
Quality of Family Life	7th Grade	8th Grade	9th Grade	10th Grade	11th Grade	Stay In	Total
Excessively Stressful Family Situation	4	6	1			11	22
Average Family Situation		4	7	3	1	15	30
Above Average Family Situation	1			1		6	8
Total	5	10	8	4	1	32	60

p level .075

TABLE 10.2

Dropout FC's Last Year in School Vs. FC's Perception of Number of Males Close to Him

	Dropout FC's Last Year in School						
FC's Perception of Number of Males Close to Him	7th Grade	8th Grade	9th Grade	10th Grade	11th Grade	Stay In	Total
No Males	3	1	2			5	11
Few Males	2	9	5	4	1	27	48
Many Males			1			1	2
Total	5	10	8	4	1	33	61

p level .362

TABLE 10.3

June 68 Grades Vs. Father Present or Not

	June 68 Grades		
Father Present or Not	Dropout/Fail	D and Better	Total
Absent	9	15	24
Present	3	23	26
Total	12	38	50

p level .05 *

TABLE 10.4

Dropout FC's Last Year in School Vs. Father Present or Not

	Dropout FC's Last Year in School						
Father Present or Not	7th Grade	8th Grade	9th Grade	10th Grade	11th Grade	Stay In	Total
Absent	4	4	4	2	.	16	30
Present	1	6	4	2	1	17	31
Total	5	10	8	4	1	33	61

p level not significant

TABLE 10.5

Number of FCs Who Have Dropped Out Vs. Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father

	Number of FCs Who Have Dropped Out		
Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father	Dropped Out	Stayed In	Total
Negative/Neutral	12	7	19
Positive	10	17	27
Total	22	23	46

p level .082

IQ

In accordance with many other studies of school dropouts (Cervantes, 1966; Bullock, 1967; Department of Labor, 1960; Lichter, 1962; Anderson, 1968, Bowman and Matthews, 1968), our data showed no significant relationship between IQ level and dropping out (as measured in school by the Kuhlman-Anderson test), A trend showed, however, that no focal subjects with IQs of 110 or above dropped out, and that subjects who fell in the lowers IQ range (80-89) tended to drop out at a proportionately greater rate. Finally, as was discussed in Chapter 8, we also found that significantly more subjects who said that they could change in desired ways had performance IQ scores that were higher than their verbal IQ scores regardless of the magnitude of the specific scores (see Table 8.22). And, as we will report below, significantly more of the "Can Change" FCs dropped out. Some implications of this interaction between IQ, self-concept and dropping out were pointed out in Chapter 8.

School: Grades

When we look at correlations between grade point average and dropping out, we find significant inverse relationships between grades and dropping out for all three years (for 1967, r = -.456; for 1968, r = -.328; and, for 1969, r = -.673). However, when we look at frequency distributions of grades and dropping out for each year, and when we compare grades from one year with grades from other years, these results become less clear-cut. For example, there is a statistically non-significant relationship between 1967 and 1969 grade point averages. The table indicates, however, that most dropouts had "C" averages in 1967, and in general, 1969 dropouts had lower grades in 1967. But it should be noted that some subjects of all grade levels in 1967 had dropped out by 1969. Similarly, if we compare June 1968 grades with those of 1969, we find that while proportionately the most dropouts in 1969 had F's or D's in 1968, the next largest group of 1969 dropouts came from students with B averages in 1968. It is interesting also that there was a general overall decline in grade point averages for all subjects over the three years.

We have been able to identify certain self-concept dimensions which may account for some of this decline. We found, for example, interesting differences between those focal children who felt that they both could change those things about themselves in which they felt inferior, and who also believed that such changes could come about through practice and hard work (the "can/practice" FCs), and those focal children who said both that they could not change, and that any change would require some alteration in their basic nature (the "can't/natural" FCs). The tables below (10.6 and 10.7) outline the grades of these two groups of subjects from 1967 to 1969.

TABLE 10.6

Grades of "Can/Practice" FCs

	Can/Practice FCs		
Grades	June 1967	June 1968	June 1969
Fail, Drop-out	0	7	16
D	5	5	3
C	13	10	11
B	9	4	1
B+, A	0	0	0
Total	27	26	31

TABLE 10.7

Grades of Can't/Natural FCs

Grades	June 1967	June 1968	June 1969
	Can't/Natural FCs		
Fail, Drop-out	1	2	4
D	0	1	1
C	8	8	6
B	2	2	1
B+, A	2	0	0
Total	13	13	12

The tables show that, while no substantial changes in grades occurred for the can't/natural FCs, the grades of the can/practice group went consistently down over the three years and proportionately more subjects from this group dropped out. In fact, 75% of the 1969 dropouts were can/practice FCs; this represents half of the can/practice group. It seems, further, that the can/practice dropouts are drawn from the higher grade-point levels. Further, a look at the 1969 grades divided along this same dimension, shows that, while the can't/natural FCs are concentrated at the "C" average level, the can/practice group is spread out at all grade levels and contains the only FCs of that year who had B averages. In a later section we will provide additional evidence which shows that a sizeable group of focal children who displayed a greater sense of agency and control over their lives in general, tended to drop out of school, and that some of these students had done above average school work shortly before they withdrew from school.

School defiance and non-school trouble

A school defiance scale was developed which was made up of the extent to which the focal child reported the following behaviors in school: talking back to a teacher, destruction of school property, refusal to obey rules and orders, and physically confronting a teacher. It was found that while students who stayed in school tended to be on the low end of the scale, dropouts were not generally higher in school defiance; even though those subjects at the highest end of the scale tended to dropout. It was also found that those subjects who dropped out right after seventh grade were rated significantly higher in school defiance (Table 10.8).

TABLE 10.8

FC Dropout's Last Year in School Vs. FC's Defiance of School Authorities and Destruction of School Property

	FC Dropout's Last Year in School		
FC's Defiance of School Authorities and Destruction of School Property	7th Grade	Stay In	Total
Low Defiance	1	13	14
High Defiance	4	4	8
Total	5	17	22

p level .05 *

With the exception of these early dropouts, we found, on other measures, that dropouts were not significantly more likely to get involved in activities that would be likely to get them into trouble. A scale called "total hot water" combined the measure of school defiance with out-of-school activities such as illegal acts (e.g. stealing, breaking and entering), fighting and drug use. It was found that, while dropouts were equally divided on this dimension, students who stayed in school were significantly less likely to be rated high in total hot water (Table 10.9). Further, we found that dropouts were not significantly higher on any of the individual components of the total hot water scale, but that stay-ins tended to be generally lower. An example of this trend is seen in Table 10.10 below (illegal acts vs. dropping out).

TABLE 10.9

FC Dropout's Last Year in School Vs. Total Hot Water

Total Hot Water--Weighted Frequency of FC's Participation in Activities Likely to Get Him into Trouble in and out of School	FC Dropout's Last Year in School Out	 In	 Total
Low	12	27	39
High	14	8	22
Total	26	35	61

p level .05 *

TABLE 10.10

FC Dropout's Last Year in School Vs. Weighted Frequency of FC's Commission of Specified Illegal Acts

Weighted Frequency of FC's Commission of Specified Illegal Acts	FC Dropout's Last Year in School Dropout	 Still In	 Total
Low	11	24	35
Medium/High	15	11	26
Total	26	35	61

p level .05 *

In other research concerned with school staying and leaving, the most consistent predictors of dropout behavior have been found to be variables involving school, such as getting into trouble, a high degree of absenteeism and grade failure or non-promotion (see, Varner, 1967, for a review of this literature). As we indicated above, in the present study, trouble in school taken alone does not predict dropping out; it is more accurate to say that a relative *lack* of trouble both in and out of school may predict who *stays in* school. We also found no consistent relationship between grade retention and dropping out. Finally, although we found several interesting associations between school absenteeism (hookey) and variables relating to self-concept and family, there was no indication that dropouts were absent from school significantly more than stay-ins. However, as we will show below, a relationship between school absenteeism and dropping out did emerge when certain intervening self-concept variables were considered. In addition, a strong relationship between grade point average and degree of absenteeism was uncovered (Table 10.11). Also, when subjects were divided between those who dropped out, failed, or had D averages, and those who had C averages or above in 1968, we found that the better students played significantly less hookey (Table 10.12).

TABLE 10.11

June 68 Grades Vs. How Often Does FC Play Hookey

June 68 Grades

How Often Does FC Play Hookey	Dropout	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	Total
Never	3		1	15	4		23
Once or Twice		2	2	7	1		12
Often	4		3	1	1		9
Total	7	2	6	23	6		44

p level .027 *

TABLE 10.12

June 68 Grades Vs. How Often Does FC Play Hookey

How Often Does FC Play Hookey	June 68 Grades Dropout/ Fail/D	C and Over	Total
Never	4	19	23
Once or Twice	4	8	12
Often	7	2	9
Total	15	20	44

p level .006 **
extremes significant at .005 **

Again, as in the case of getting into trouble, these tables show that it is students who do well are absent least often, rather than those who drop out or are most likely to drop out, who are absent more often. In a later section we will outline additional findings that have to do with school trouble, non-school trouble and hookey but that do not relate directly to staying in or leaving school.

Self-Concept

Dropping out or staying in school relates in several important ways to many of the self-concept variables which were developed. At this stage of our analysis, some of this material is not fully explored and can only be talked about as it suggests further lines of inquiry. For convenience we will here review our definitions of some of these key variables before outlining these findings.

Initiator-reactor: This variable distinguishes between those focal subjects who portray themselves as predominantly initiating or reacting in the context of interpersonal relationships as measured in the following question: "Let's pretend you wanted to disappear from the scene for a while but you had to get someone to take your place so that no one would know you were gone.

You have to teach him, like a spy, how to act like you so that no one would know the difference. How would you tell him to act around home? With your friends? At school? (etc.)."

Content of "better at": This variable derives from a question that asks the subjects to list those traits, skills, and abilities in which they feel *superior* to the average boy their age.

Number of "better at": This variable consists of a simple count of the number of areas in which the subject feels he excels.

Source of "better at": This variable refers to the item which asks the subjects how they gained their superiority. The two categories of this code discriminate between those subjects who feel that their superiority is due to their own efforts (e.g., practice or study) and those who report that their superiority is due to some inborn or natural talent.

"Practice/natural": This variable reflects those behaviors, skills, and abilities in which the subject feels he is *less* effective than the average boy of his age, and at which he would like to become better. More specifically, it is concerned with what the subject feels would be necessary to make these desired changes. The two categories which make up this code discriminate between those subjects who say that in order to change they would have to exert effort or work ("practice") and those who feel that in order to improve in desired ways they would have to change some fundamental natural characteristic ("natural"). In this latter case it is as though the subject has said, "In order to change in the ways I would like to change, I would have to be someone else."

Number of "not good at": This variable consists of a simple count of the number of areas in which the subject feels he is inferior to the average boy of his age.

"Can/can't change": This variable refers to the item which asks the subjects whether or not they feel that they can make these desired changes, and thus reflects a sense of control over the environment.

"Can/practice" - "can't/natural": As we indicated earlier, this variable distinguishes those subjects who feel they *can* change through *practice*, from those subjects who not only feel they *cannot* change but that any change would involve a modification of *natural* characteristics (e.g., growing taller, developing a talent). We combined these two variables in order to strengthen

the contrast between subjects who showed a positive sense of possibility for improvement and who felt that such improvement was under their direct control, from those subjects who said that they could not change and who also indicated that the process of improvement was one in which they could not take an active or controlling role.

Perception of changes desired by reference figures: This refers to a series of variables which reflect the degree to which the subject feels his parents, siblings, peers, and teachers would like him to be different. Additional variables measure whether or not the subject agrees with the changes that significant others would like him to make.

Self-esteem: This is a variable made up of several items which elicit information on the degree to which the subject is satisfied with himself. The items include number of better at, number of not good at, the presence or absence of a desire to change places with someone else, and whether or not FC believes that his parents want him to make major or minor changes and whether or not FC agrees with the need for these changes.

"Strategic Style": This is a variable defined as a composite of behavioral patterns designed to convey facts and impressions about oneself, and which can be relatively natural and spontaneous, or contrived and self-conscious. Each subject is assigned to one of five strategic styles on the basis of his entire interview transcript, and written interviewer impressions of the subject's presentation of self during the course of all contacts between the interviewer and subject. The five styles are the "cool guy", the "smart guy", the "tough guy", the "conformist", and the "withdrawn kid". A description of each style has been given above.

We found no significant association between the initiator-reactor dimension and dropping out of school. However, when we introduced the variable can/can't change as in Table 10.13, a strong effect emerged. It was found that significantly more dropouts described themselves as "can change" while those who stayed in were equally divided on this dimension.

TABLE 10.13

Can/Can't Change Vs. Dropping Out of School by June, 1969

Drop Out/Stay In	Can/Can't Change Can change	 Can't change	Total
Drop out	21	4	25
Stay in	16	17	33
Total	37	21	58

p level .01 **

Further, we found that 19 out of the 20 initiators thought they could change in desired ways. Of these, 12 stayed in school and 8 dropped out. The reactors were evenly divided along the can/can't change dimension, and it was found in Table 10.14, that significantly more of the reactor/can't change group stayed in school and significantly more of the reactor/can change group dropped out.

TABLE 10.14

Reactive/Can/Can't Change Vs. Dropping Out of School by June, 1969

Drop Out/Stay In	Reactors Who Can or Can't Change Can change	 Can't change	Total
Drop out	13	5	18
Stay in	6	16	22
Total	19	21	40

p level .005 **

We also found that, if the variable of father-absence was considered, the dropout effect became stronger for father-present FCs, and weaker for father-absent FCs (Tables 10.15

and 10.16). In other words, if the father is present then reactors tend to stay in or leave school according to whether or not they say they can or can't change, and if the father is absent, the effect is no longer significant. For the initiators, father absence does not interact with dropping out. This may be due in part to the fact that only 6 initiators are father-present.

We proceeded to look at other factors which might discriminate among these three self-concept groups (initiators, reactor/cans and reactor/can'ts). We will concern ourselves here only with those findings that have to do with staying in school and leaving.

In Chapter 7, in reference to Tables 7.15 and 7.16 we discussed associations between aspects of FC's relationship with his father (father absence, nature of relationship with father in or out of house), and Performance IQ. On being confronted with these emerging relationships, we tried to put together two trends, not on the basis of a theoretical framework, but because of the distributions of data we had observed and our experience with the focal interviews. The first trend concerned the linkage between FC's Performance IQ being higher than his Verbal IQ and his having a positive relationship with his father. The second trend was discerned in a complex of findings: 1) reactors are significantly more father-present than initiators; 2) reactors who can change are lower in Verbal IQ, more likely to have higher Performance IQ than Verbal, and are more likely to drop out of school than reactors who can't change; FCs who think they can change (regardless of whether they are initiators or reactors) also tend to have lower Verbal than Performance IQs and to drop out more frequently than FCs who think they cannot change. We have tried to rationalize some of our speculations in the aforementioned section of Chapter 7, but, more simply, we should say that all of these findings seemed to point to an important "connection" between reactors and their fathers, the nature of which we did not and do not at present understand very well. With few coded variables available to test for this connection, we examined the association between FC's self-esteem and his relationship with his father in the expectation 1) that there could be a crucial relationship between these two variables for the sub-sample of reactors and, 2) that the nature of that relationship might differ depending on whether the focal was a reactor/can or a reactor/can't. Below, we outline the course and results of our inquiry.

First, we found that a great majority of the reactor/can'ts had self-esteem ratings which were congruous with their relationship with their fathers (regardless of father-absence or presence). Relationship with father was coded either as "none", "negative", "neutral" or "positive"; self-esteem scores were dichotomized either into a high and low category. The two variables were considered congruent if the subject had a negative or neutral relationship with his father and a low self-esteem score, or if he had a positive relationship with his father and a high self-esteem score. The reactor/can't FCs were fairly evenly distributed on the self-esteem dimension, and on the dimension of relationship with father. However, we found that, of the 12 out of 15 reactor/can'ts who had some sort of relationship with their fathers, this relationship matched their self-esteem ratings (rel = SE). It was even more startling to discover that the vast majority of reactor/can'ts who stayed in school had rel = SE, and that none of the reactor/can'ts who were characterized by rel = SE dropped out. In addition, we found that this effect was strongest for the reactor/can'ts who were father-present (Table 10.15).

TABLE 10.15

Self-Esteem and Relation with Father for Father-Present Reactor/Can'ts in and out of School

Congruence of Self-Esteem and Relationship with Father	In or out of School		
	In school	Drop out	Total
Rel = SE	10	0	10
Rel ≠ SE	2	2	4
Total	12	2	14

p level not significant
(by one case)

Only one of the father-absent reactor/can'ts claimed to have a relationship with his father; this FC had a high self-esteem, a negative relationship with his father (rel ≠ SE) and was a dropout. The remaining father-absent reactor/can'ts who were rated as having no relationship with their fathers, tended to stay in school if they were low in self-esteem. The only dropout who was father-absent and had no relationship with his father, in this group had high self-esteem.

We concluded from these findings that for reactors who can't change, relationship with father and father-presence is strongly linked to self-esteem. In addition, staying in school is strongly tied to the congruity of the nature of this relationship with self-esteem. These results suggest that for these subjects who are characterized by reactivity, a degree of passibity and who lack a sense of control over their own lives, staying in school is at least in part determined by the presence of a father who may have the effect of asserting considerable control and influence over the life of his son, and the way his son feels about himself. (Further analyses will be undertaken to determine the nature of the mother's participation in this interaction.)

It is interesting that a consonance of FC's relationship with his father and his self-esteem does not generally obtain for FCs who are can change, whether they are initiators or reactor/cans. In fact, in some cases we found that a dissonance between relationship with father and self-esteem (rel ≠ SE) was associated with staying in school. For instance, as Table 10.16 shows, none of the father-present initiators who stayed in school had self-esteem scores which matched relationship with father. (An equal number of father-present initiators with rel ≠ SE were as likely to stay in as to leave school.)

TABLE 10.16

Self-Esteem and Relation with Father for Father-Present Initiators in and out of School

Congruence of Self-Esteem and Relationship with Father	In or out of School Stay in	Drop out	Total
Rel = SE	0	1	1
Rel ≠ SE	3	2	5
Total	3	3	6

p level not significant

It was also of interest to discover that six out of the eight father-absent initiators had rel = SE regardless of whether they stayed in or dropped out. In addition, three out of four of the father-absent initiators who dropped out had rel = SE (Table 10.17). This finding is particularly interesting in comparison to the father-absent reactor/can'ts, only one of whom claimed to have any relationship with his father; as we pointed out above, this one subject had a negative relationship with his father, high self-esteem (i.e., rel ≠ SE), and was a dropout.

TABLE 10.17

Self-Esteem and Relation with Father for Father-Absent Initiators in and out of School, All of Whom Have Relationships with Fathers

	In or out of School		
Congruence of Self-Esteem and Relationship with Father	Stay in	Drop out	Total
Rel = SE	3	3	6
Rel ≠ SE	1	1	2
Total	4	4	8

p level not significant

Thus it appears, that in contrast to the reactor/can'ts, for initiators it is the absence of the father that is associated with rel = SE, and that rel = SE is not associated with staying in school. The reactor/cans showed aspects of both the reactor/can'ts and the initiators on these dimensions. As with the initiators, more of the father-present reactor-cans who stayed in school had relationships with their fathers which did not match their self-esteem scores; unlike the initiators, however, more father-present reactor/cans with rel = SE dropped out. In addition, those reactor/cans who were father-absent tended to drop out when their relationships with father were congruous with self-esteem; again, this is similar to the initiators.

We obtained several non-significant trends which are worthy of note. Probably the most outstanding of these was that for father-present FCs, only 1 out of 16 subjects who said he could change, stayed in school when his relationship with his father matched his self-esteem score; (this subject was a reactor/can). Further, for the father-present FCs who said they could not change, there were no dropouts among the subjects who had relationships with their fathers which matched their self-esteem scores (Table 10.18). (These subjects are all reactor/can'ts; the table misses significance by 1 case.)

TABLE 10.18

Self-Esteem and Relation with Father for Father-Present FCs Who Think They Can't Change

Congruence of Self-Esteem and Relationship with Father	In or out of School Stay in	 Drop out	 Total
Rel = SE	10	0	10
Rel ≠ SE	2	2	4
Total	12	2	14

p level not significant

When we looked at the group of father-present reactors alone, regardless of whether they were can or can't change or father absence and presence, we found that significantly more reactors stayed in school when rel = SE, as is shown in Table 10.19 below.

TABLE 10.19

Father Present Reactors in or out of School

Congruence of Self-Esteem and Relationship with Father	In or out of School Stay in	 Drop out	 Total
Rel = SE	11	3	14
Rel ≠ SE	4	7	11
Total	15	10	25

p level .05 *

Then, when we compared only father present initiators and reactors (regardless of can and can't change) who stayed in school, we found that the reactors who stayed in, tended to have rel = SE, while all 3 of the initiators who stayed in, were all rel ≠ SE.

TABLE 10.20

Self-Esteem and Relation with Father for Father-Present FCs Who Stayed in School

Congruence of Self-Esteem and Relationship with Father	Initiator-Reactor Initiator	 Reactor	 Total
Rel = SE	0	11	11
Rel ≠ SE	3	4	7
Total	3	15	18

p level .043 *

Finally, because we felt that the initiators and the reactor/can'ts functioned in an opposite manner as regards the interplay of father-absence and the quality of their relationships with their fathers, we constructed an illustrative table. What we are trying to express in the table is the following: Initiators whose fathers are present do not have self-esteem scores congruent with their relationships with their fathers, but initiators whose fathers are absent tend to have a congruence between self-regard and relationships with their fathers. The group of reactors who can't change functions oppositely to the initiators: when their fathers are present, reactors who can't change have self-esteem scores congruent with their relationships with their fathers, but when their fathers are absent, they tend not to have congruent self-esteem and relationship with father scores. The only sense we can make of this finding at the present time is that it supports our speculations, first, that reactors who can't change are somehow dependent on or tied to their fathers to an impressive degree, and, second, that initiators whose fathers are present may be emotionally independent from their parents while those whose fathers are absent (a group that comprises most of the initiators and which is made up of mainly youngest and oldest children) might feel more "connection" between themselves and their fathers, possibly through the development of positive "compensatory fantasies" about the absent father.

The table shows the relationship described above. This relationship, convoluted though it is, seems important enough to be extensively traced through the available case material. Now, the table which follows (Table 10.21) is only composed of FCs who report having an active relationship with their present or absent fathers. These initiators and reactors are classified into two categories. The first category (called "father-present and rel = SE/father-absent and rel ≠ SE") includes both those FCs who have fathers present and congruence between self-esteem and relationships with fathers and those FCs whose fathers are absent and whose self-esteem is not associated with their relationships with their fathers. The second category ("father-present and rel ≠ SE/father-absent and rel = SE") includes both those father-present FCs who do not have self-esteem scores congruent with their relationships with their fathers and those FCs whose fathers are absent and whose self-esteem scores are congruent with their relationships with their fathers.

TABLE 10.21

Opposite Tendencies of Initiators and Reactors Who Can't Change to Have Congruent or Incongruent Associations Between Self-Esteem and Relation with Father Depending on Whether Father Is Absent or Present

Father-Absence and Rel = or ≠ Self-Esteem	Initiator Vs. Reactor/Can't Change		
	Initiator	Reactor	Total
Father-present; rel = self-esteem/ father-absent; rel ≠ self-esteem	11	3	14
Father-present; rel ≠ self-esteem/father-absent; rel = self-esteem	5	11	16
Total	16	14	30

p level .007 **

Thus, we found that the dimensions of father-presence, relationship with father and self-esteem had a differential effect on initiators and reactors, as well as on can and can't change subjects, in terms of staying in school. In fact, it seems that the can/can't change dimension is, in some ways, more powerful than initiator/reactor in this complex of dimensions that relate to staying in school. These particular findings, however, tell us relatively little about the father-absent FCs, and also do not indicate any very clear patterns for those FCs who dropped out. In reference to the latter, it is suggestive that all but two of the reactor/can dropouts had low self-esteem scores. As we indicated above, the reactor/can group contains the greatest number of dropouts in the entire sample and significantly more dropouts than the reactor/can't group. Also, of the initiators who dropped out, 75% had low self-esteem scores. It is paradoxical that those subjects, all of whom say that they can change, and most of whom show other signs which indicate that they feel a sense of control over and agency in their lives, should have low self-esteem, and should drop out of school. However, if we look at the components of the self-esteem scale, it becomes clear that, in fact, what is primarily being measured is the subject's sense of satisfaction with his present life. It is more understandable, then, that those subjects who feel they can change, and most of whom also feel that change can come about through their own efforts, would be more aware of what is wrong with their lives. We have yet to uncover the ways in which going to school is related to this sense of dissatisfaction, and whether or not dropping out represents part of an effort to seek other avenues of self-fulfillment.

We turn now to the strategic styles assigned to each subject and the ways that these relate to school staying or leaving. Strategic style was associated with dropping out in significant ways as is shown in Table 10.22.

TABLE 10.22

Strategic Style Vs. Dropping out of School

	Strategic Style					
In or out of School	Withdrawn Kid	Conformist	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Total
Drop out	0	4	5	10	6	25
Stay in	5	10	14	6	0	35
Total	5	14	19	16	6	60

p level .009 **

Further, all of the smart guys and tough guys who dropped out, left school before the 10th grade; the cool guys and conformists left before and after the 10th grade. This may be seen more clearly in Table 10.23.

TABLE 10.23

Strategic Style and "Early" Vs. Late Dropping Out

Time of Dropping Out	Withdrawn Kid	Conformist	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy
Left before 10th Grade	0	2	4	10	6
Left after 10th Grade	0	2	2	0	0

In addition, we found that if we isolated the smart and tough guys from the withdrawn, conformist and cool guys we found some interesting differences between the two groups. As is clear from the above, the two groups differed significantly in frequency of dropping out (Table 10.24).

TABLE 10.24

Strategic Style Clusters Vs. Dropping Out

FC in or out of School

Strategic Style	Stay in	Drop out	Total
Cool, Conformist, Withdrawn	29	9	38
Smart, Tough	6	16	22
Total	35	25	60

p level .01

It was also found that initiators who stayed in school were significantly more likely to be from the withdrawn, conformist, cool guy group (Table 10.25). This table also shows us that with one exception, all of the initiators who dropped out were either tough or smart guys. The majority of reactors in the sample were in the withdrawn, conformist, cool guy group;

among these reactors, those who felt they could change tended to drop out, while those who thought they could not change tended to stay in. This trend follows the pattern outlined earlier concerning differential dropout rates for can vs. can't change FCs. It was interesting to find that with three exceptions, all of the reactors who were smart or tough guys fell into the can change category regardless of whether they stayed in or left school. Eight out of the nine tough and smart guy reactors who dropped out were "can change" FCs.

TABLE 10.25

Strategic Style Vs. Initiators in or out of School

	Initiators in or out of School		
Strategic Style	In	Out (as of June '69)	Total
Cool Guy/ Conformist/ Withdrawn	8	1	9
Smart Guy/ Tough Guy	4	7	11
Total	12	8	20

p level .025 *

The assignment of strategic styles is helpful in drawing a clearer picture of what type of individual drops out or stays in school, even if on a relatively general and impressionistic basis. It is also interesting to see how other more unitary dimensions such as initiator/reactor are distributed according to strategic style. When we find, for example, that three quarters of the initiators who stayed in school were either labeled as conformists or cool guys (there were no withdrawn initiators), and that, with one exception, all initiators who dropped out were either smart or tough guys, we begin to see that the dynamic quality of "initiating" is associated with different personality styles and behavioral contents. As we introduce additional information associated with school staying and leaving, it is hoped that the dynamics of such variables as initiator/reactor, can/can't change and practice/natural will be brought together with more concrete and descriptive behaviors, attitudes and feelings which characterize these two groups of subjects.

Race

We turn now to those findings which have to do with various measures of racial identity and awareness and dropping out. When we discovered that more dropouts than stay ins were characterized by a desire to change their lives and had a sense of being able to do so, we thought that they might also be characterized by a stronger sense of racial identity and would be more willing to explore the "white world" than those subjects who stayed in school. We also measured the subject's perception of the social system of the United States as open or closed, and his willingness to move in the white world. These latter two variables are concerned with the nature and the poser of barriers FC perceived as due to racial discrimination, and his willingness to surmount them. It was thought that leaving school might be part of an effort to step outside of the existing and expected routes to success as they are created and defined by a predominantly white society, and that an increased sense of racial awareness might energize such a break with expected pathways.

In general, we hoped to ascertain what these adolescents viewed as credible information about the opportunity structure of this society. Prior research on black dropouts (Bullock, 1967; Stettler, 1959) has not addressed itself in any depth to these adolescents' feelings about race and chances for success in a predominantly white world. We begin with the assumption that these adolescents do not see the opportunity structure in "objective" terms, but instead perceive it as it is communicated to them by others. It is expected that these messages often will be contradictory. For example, the child is taught in school that only with a good education can he hope to get a good job, and that if he is qualified, opportunities will be open to him regardless of race. His parents often will reinforce this view. In fact, studies have shown that even when income is controlled, black parents voice much more interest and concern about the need for education than whites (see Reissman, 1962, for a review of this literature). A study by Garza (1969) found that low income black mothers perceived greater opportunities open to their children than a comparable sample of white mothers. Many of these adolescents, of course, are exposed to older brothers or friends who have dropped out of school and tell or show them in some way that their chances for employment and financial success are not made much greater by getting a high school diploma. Or they see their siblings and peers who have finished school, and who are trying but failing to succeed. Other messages are communicated to them by their exposure to their fathers' poverty, underemployment, and a possible sense of hopelessness. Clearly, then, developing a realistic and coherent sense of opportunities afforded him becomes a very complicated problem for the adolescent in this situation which may affect his decision to leave or stay in school.

Our predictions, based on the self-concept results, were not upheld by the race findings; we discovered instead a much more complex picture. We found no direct relationship between our scale of racial identity and dropping out. Further, we found that willingness to move in the white world was not related to dropping out, and that judgement of the "system" as open or closed was also unrelated to staying in or leaving school. We did find, however, in Table 10.26, that those FCs with _low_ racial identity tended to stay in school if they saw the system as closed, and were more likely to drop out if they saw the system as open.

TABLE 10.26

FCs with Low Racial Identity in and out of School Vs System Open-Closed

FCs with Low Racial Identity

System open-closed	Stay in	Drop out	Total
System open	5	9	14
System closed	14	4	18
Total	19	13	32

p level .02

Another nonsignificant trend indicated a tendency for FCs to stay in school if they saw the system as closed and were rated low in their willingness to move in the white world. These trends suggest that at least for some subjects, staying in school is associated with an awareness of discriminatory barriers that is coupled with _lack_ of strong self-definition as a black, and no great desire to actually explore or live in the white world. It is almost as if school is in some way a refuge for these individuals, from that world which they see as antagonistic to them and yet do not feel the strength to confront. This is especially interesting since we found a significant association for the entire sample which showed that if the subject saw the system as closed he was willing to move in the white world if he also had a high level of racial identity (see also Chapter 9).

In addition, we found that ten out of the twelve initiators who stayed in school say the system as closed. (Reactors stayed in or left school regardless of whether or not they viewed the system as open or closed.) However, half of these initiators who stayed in, had high racial identity. Also, half of these initiators were willing to move in the white world. For some of these subjects then, staying in school does not seem to be related to wanting a refuge, or represent a tendency to follow a path of least resistance. For those individuals who have a strong sense of racial identity, who see the system as "closed", and are willing to move in the white world, going to school may be viewed by the individual as a necessary step in attaining desired goals in a white world. It will be crucial to examine individual cases in order to fully understand the nature of these goals and the precise ways in which staying in school is regarded as a means to them.

It will also be necessary to investigate further the dropout's feelings about race and opportunity. Thus far, the data has revealed more about the stay ins than the dropouts in this area. We did find that significantly more FCs, who were rated as high in racial identity, were either dropouts, failures or had D averages in 1969. Since it is highly likely that students with F's and D's will drop out, it appears that for many subjects, high racial identity is incompatible with staying in school or doing well. It was furthermore fascinating to discover a strong trend which showed that with one exception, all FCs with low racial identity perceived their teachers as having medium or high school expectations for them. Although more evidence is needed, it appears that low racial identity may be considered a desirable trait in school, or at least that the student may perceive the school situation in these terms.

Work

We found no major differences in occupational choices between dropouts and stay ins. If we look however, at the self-concept group with the highest concentration of dropouts (reactor/cans) in comparison with the lowest dropout group (reactor/can't), there are some suggestive trends. For example, more of the reactor/cans feel that it is not impossible to attain their ideal job choices; fewer reactor/cans are in agreement with their parents as to occupational choice. Probably the most interesting trend is that almost half of the reactor/cans listed negative job choices (i.e., occupations they would not want), which were rated as upwardly mobile. Only two of the reactor/can'ts listed upwardly mobile job choices. Thus, among the group with the highest dropout rate, there was also the greatest concentration of FCs who showed a desire to avoid white collar and professional work. Despite this, the reactor/cans were also more likely to choose ideal jobs such as "millionaire" or "president" than the reactor/can'ts, who were more likely to choose specific professions (e.g., doctor, lawyer, businessman) as their ideal occupations. In fact, we found a trend for all subjects which showed that stay-ins were more likely than dropouts to pick ideal jobs that were equal in status to their first job choices.

A Note on the Prediction of Dropping Out and Staying in School

After reviewing the findings which were powerfully associated with staying in or leaving school, a stepwise discriminant analysis was performed. This procedure allowed us to see the relative effect of twenty pre-selected variables as they related to dropping out. The outcome of this analysis was the isolation of five variables, which, taken in combination, were able to predict the probability of dropping out and staying in school with 84% accuracy. The following variables make up this configuration; they are listed in order of their relative predictive power: can vs. can't change, composite self-concept*, number of males with whom FC reports a close relationship, number of siblings, total hot water.

* This variable is a combined measure which provides a continuum of complexity of self, and sense of agency. It includes the variable initiator-reactor, FC's ability to make distinctions between others, practice-natural, and degree of introspectiveness. At the low end of the scale are subjects who describe themselves as reactive in interpersonal relationships, who make few discriminations among people with whom they interact, who feel that self-improvement can come only through a change in some natural trait, and who indicate that they are not prone to an examination of their own motives and emotions. Conversely, subjects at the high end of the scale describe themselves as initiators who in interpersonal contacts make distinctions among others (i.e., they indicate an awareness of acting differently with different people, depending on the exigencies of a given situation); in addition they feel that self-improvement can result from practice, and, finally, they demonstrate a relatively high level of introspectiveness.

The stepwise discriminant analysis showed that dropouts were more likely than stay ins to be involved in activities in and out of school which could get them into trouble; dropouts also tended to have more siblings, and fewer close relationships with adult males. Further, dropouts were more likely to feel that they could change themselves in desired ways, and tended to be rated higher in the combined measure of composite self-concept. These results are borne out in our earlier discussion of trends found in the correlations and contingency tables. They suggest that of all of the domains of variables considered, the three most important in understanding dropout behavior have to do with self-concept, especially sense of agency, and availability of male models. At the present stage of our analysis, it is difficult to assess the exact importance of each of these domains; we must stress again that the stepwise discriminant procedure gives us probabilities of dropping out and staying in school as a product of a weighted combination of these five salient characteristics.

Expectations and Aspirations

In the following section we will review those findings which have to do with the subject's school expectations and aspirations for himself, the school expectations he holds for his peers, and the expectations that he perceives are held for him by his parents and teachers. Briefly, the relevant variables in these areas were the following: FC "school expectation", which simply refers to how far FC expects to go in school; FC "school aspiration" measures how far FC would like to go in school regardless of what he actually expects to accomplish; identical measures of school expectation refer to FC's judgements of his parents' and teachers' expectations for him as well as expectations he holds for his peers. In addition, a series of variables dealt specifically with college; these enquired into whether or not FC has thought about going to co-lege, whether or not he would want to go to college, whether he feels he has the ability to go to college, and the extent to which he is knowledgeable about what specific steps and procedures are necessary in order to gain admission to college, as well as the extent to which he knows about particular colleges and their programs. (In coding these variables we included business and commercial training, and junior college in our definition of "college".) Finally, we combined these college-related variables into a measure of general "College Orientation", which consisted of the following three categories: "negative, ambivalent or confused, and positive college orientation". It is hoped that through an exploration of these variables we will begin to understand the meaning and utility of education for these adolescents, as well as some of the expectations and pressures they feel from adults. We will proceed by looking at the FCs' expectations and aspirations as they relate to groups of variables associated with family, self-concept, racial awareness, work, and school behavior.

Family

It was illuminating to discover that most of the family and demographic variables were unrelated to FCs' school expectations than those held by the FC for himself. The majority of parents were said to have the same expectations as their sons as can be seen in Table 10.27.

TABLE 10.27

Grade in School Vs. FC-Parent School Expectation Discrepancy

	FC - Parent Discrepancy of School Expectations			
Grade of Focal	Parents Higher	Parents same as FC	Parents Lower	Total
Seventh	6	11	8	25
Ninth	0	13	6	19
Total	6	24	14	44

p level .057

We also found that significantly more seventh grade FCs had school aspirations that exceeded their expectations (Table 10.28). This may account for why parents of seventh graders were reportedly to have higher expectations than their sons had for themselves.

TABLE 10.28

Grade in School Vs. Discrepancy between FC's School Aspirations and Expectations

	Discrepancy between FC's School Aspirations and Expectations			
Grade in School	Expectations Higher	Aspirations Same as Expectations	Aspirations Higher	Total
Seventh	1	12	13	26
Ninth	4	15	3	22
Total	5	27	16	48

p level .018 *

Aside from this finding, the following family variables were associated with college orientation. It was found that FCs who came from homes rated high in family support were significantly more positive in college orientation than FCs from low support homes. In fact, Table 10.29 shows that no FCs from high support homes were negative in college orientation.

TABLE 10.29

Family Support Score Vs. FC's College Orientation

Family Support Score (Rank)	FC's College Orientation Negative	Mixed or Unclear	Positive	Total
Low	3	9	2	14
Medium	2	8	7	17
High		8	10	18
Total	5	25	19	49

p level .100
extremes significant at .05 *

Further, nonsignificant trends suggested that FCs who had more positive relationships with their fathers, and who had some close adult males in their lives were more positive in college orientation. It is interesting that no family variables were shown to be associated with negative college orientation, e.g., while a supportive home was related to more positive attitudes about higher education, a non-supportive home did not seem to account for negative feelings and deficiencies in knowledge about higher education.

School Grades, School Trouble and Non-School Trouble

No significant relationships were found between grade point average and school expectations. However, a significant correlation obtained between school aspirations and 1967 grades (r = .38 *). In addition, while a slight trend showed that FCs who stayed in school were more positive in college orientation, it was interesting to find that school failures and dropouts were not significantly more negative in college orientation. Also, no significant associations were found between school trouble alone and school expectations or aspirations. We did find, though, that significantly more FCs who were rated low in non-school trouble were more positive in college orientation (Table 10.30). And, when we combined school and non-school trouble into a measure called "total hot water", we found a strong inverse relationship between this measure and college orientation (Table 10.31). In this case, we grouped together those subjects who were either negative or mixed in their college orientation, and found that these subjects tended to be rated as higher in trouble, than those subjects who were positive in college orientation. We also found that significantly fewer FCs who indicated that they participated in many physical fights expected to go to college, and that no FCs who fought little or not at all expected to drop out of high school (Tables 10.32 and 10.33). Thus we see that while school performance is not related to school expectations we find that participation in physically aggressive, disruptive or illegal activities are related to these expectations, and to college orientation.

TABLE 10.30

Non-School Hot Water Vs. FC's College Orientation

	FC's College Orientation			
Non-School Hot Water--Weighted Frequency of FC's Participation in Activities Likely to Get Him into Trouble Outside of School	Negative	Mixed	Positive	Total
Low		15	15	30
Medium	5	9	2	16
High		2	2	4
Total	5	26	19	50

p level .005 **

TABLE 10.31

Non-School Hot Water Vs. Number of Things FC Is Better at Than the Average Boy His Age

Non-School Hot Water--Weighted Frequency of FC's Participation in Activities Likely to Get Him into Trouble Outside of School	Number of Things FC Is Better at Than the Average Boy His Age			
	Not Better	Yes Better	Lots Better	Total
Low	9	19	11	39
High	1	8	13	22
Total	10	27	24	61

p level .033 *

TABLE 10.32

Fighting Vs. FC School Expectation

Fighting	FC School Expectation		
	Not College	College	Total
No Fight/Low Fight	10	20	30
High Fight	14	4	18
Total	24	24	48

p level .005 **

TABLE 10.33

Fighting Vs. FC School Expectation

Fighting	FC School Expectation Not High School Graduate	 High School Graduate and +	 Total
No Fight/Low Fight		30	30
High Fight	6	12	18
Toatl	6	42	48

p level .005 **

Self-Concept

It was found that significantly more of those FCs who said that they expected to go to college were classified as reactors (Table 10.34). In addition, no reactors said that they expected to drop out of high school. The five FCs who said they expected to drop out all were "can" change subjects and also felt that they could improve themselves through practice and hard work (Tables 10.35a and b). In addition, four of these FCs who expected to drop out were scored as "positive" in racial identity; that is, when asked about racial differences, they all assigned superior qualities to blacks.

TABLE 10.34

Reactor-Initiator Vs. FC School Expectation

Reactor-Initiator	FC School Expectation No College	College	Total
Reactor	11	20	31
Initiator	11	4	15
Total	22	24	46

p level .01 **

TABLE 10.35a

FC School Expectation Vs. Composite Self-Concept

FC School Expectation	Composite Self-Concept Reactors Who Can't Change	Reactors Who Can Change	Resi-dual	Initi-ators	Total
Don't Know or No Answer		1	1		2
Dropout				1	1
Some High School			2	1	3
Graduate High School	4	6	4	4	18
Any College	8	11	4	1	24
Total	12	18	11	7	48

p level not significant

TABLE 10.35b

School Expectation Vs. Reactors and Initiators plus 'Residuals' (minus "Don't Knows")

	School Expectation		
Composite Self-Concept	Stay in	Drop out	Total
Reactors	29	0	29
Initiators/ Residuals	13	4	17
Total	42	4	46

p level .015 *

Further, we found that significantly more reactors than initiators expressed school expectations which were the same or greater than their school aspirations, as is shown in Table 10.36.

TABLE 10.36

Discrepancy between FC's School Aspirations and Expectations

	Expectations Are Lower than Aspirations	Expectations Are Same or Greater than Aspirations	Total
Reactors	6	24	30
Initiators	10	8	18
Total	16	32	48

p level .014

Thus, not only did more reactors want to finish high school, but they also showed themselves to be more secure in their school expectations than did the initiators. A closely related trend showed that when the subjects who were both "can change" and "practice" were compared with FCs who were both "can't change" and "natural" in terms of their school aspirations, proportionately more of the "can't/natural" FCs aspired to college, and none aspired to less than a high school diploma. In contrast to this, proportionately more "can/practice" FCs aspired to drop out or only finish high school, and not go to college. In another comparison of these two groups of subjects, it was found that the only FCs who had a negative college orientation belonged to the "can/practice" group.

All of these trends and significant results seem to indicate that those subjects who are more generally positive about staying in school and going to college tend to describe themselves as passive in interpersonal relationships, and some feel that they have relatively little control over making desired changes in their lives. In addition, there is some evidence to show that subjects who are more active, initiating and have a greater sense of agency, are less certain or positive about their educational aspirations and expectations. These tendencies are congruent with many of the findings that discriminate those subjects who actually stayed in school from those who dropped out. It was interesting also to discover that, with one exception, all of the FCs who expected that their peers would drop out were classified as "practice" FCs (Table 10.37).

Another strong trend showed that no subjects who were classified as "withdrawn" or "conformist" had negative college orientations; none of the "tough" guys had positive orientations, and the "cool" and "smart" guys were mainly categorized as "mixed" in their college orientation (Table 10.38). Again, this trend is consonant with the results pertainint to strategic style and dropping out.

TABLE 10.37

FC's Perceptions of Reasons for His Inferiority in Abilities and Skills Than the Average Boy His Age Vs. FC School Expectations for Peers

	FC School Expectations for Peers		
FC's Perceptions of Reasons for His Inferiority in Abilities and Skills Than the Average Boy His Age	Dropout	Graduate High School	Total
Practice, etc.	11	15	26
Natural Trait	1	10	11
Total	12	25	37

p level not significant

TABLE 10.38

FC's College Orientation Vs. Strategic Style

	Strategic Style					
FC's College Orientation	Withdrawn	Conformist	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Total
Negative			2	1	2	5
Mixed	2	4	8	9	2	25
Positive	2	8	5	4		19
Total	4	12	15	14	4	49

p level not significant

Work

When we examined the findings relevant to the FCs' school expectations and occupations, we found that the meaningful differences occurred between those subjects who expected to graduate high school and/or go to college, in contrast to those subjects who did not expect to finish high school. Thus it seems that the important distinction for these subjects, at least in regard to occupational choice, is whether or not they feel they will attain a high school diploma; the impression we get is that any expectations beyond high school have a relatively vague or nonspecific meaning in terms of occupation-related variables. However, when asked about school aspirations, the subjects seemed to make a definite distinction between finishing high school and going on to college.

For example, in Table 10.39 we found that significantly more FCs who expected to graduate high school or go to college indicated managerial or professional work as their second job choice. It is interesting that school expectations were not significantly different among those subjects who chose jobs classified as unskilled labor.

TABLE 10.39

FC's School Expectation Vs. Second Job Choice

	FC School Expectation		
Second Job Choice	Not finish H.S.	Graduate H.S./ Any College	Total
Unskilled	2	2	4
Skilled/ Craftsman	3	15	18
Managerial/ Professional	1	18	19
Total	6	35	41

p level .05 *

Also, while there was a general tendency for all FCs to want a job which was equal to, or higher in status than their father's present job, a significantly greater proportion of these FCs with higher school expectations, aspired to the same or higher status occupations than those held by their fathers (Table 10.40).

Again, the meaningful split was between those FCs who said they expected to finish high school and those who did not.

TABLE 10.40

Social-Economic Status Discrepancy Between FC's First Job Choice and Father's Job Vs. FC School Expectation

	FC School Expectation					
Social-Economic Status Discrepancy Between FC's First Job Choice and Father's Job	Don't Know or Not Answered	Drop out	Some High School	Graduate High School	Any College	Total
FC Lower Than Parent			2		1	3
FC Same as Parent	1			5	4	10
FC Higher Than Parent	1	1	1	11	16	30
Total	2	1	3	16	21	43

p level .012 *

We turn now to school aspirations. A non-significant but strong trend showed that those FCs with the highest school aspirations (in this case, going to college) tended to choose ideal jobs that were equal in status to their first job choices. Those FCs who aspired only to finish high school were more likely to have first job choices which were lower in status than their ideal occupations.

The above tendency suggests that when there is a harmony between what FC would like to be if he could be anything, and what he chooses as his first job choice, he also tends to have higher school aspirations. The table below points out that a different kind of harmony -- one between an FC's educational expectations and aspirations -- is associated with a feeling that it is possible for him to attain his ideal job. Table 10.41 shows that, with three exceptions, all of the FCs whose school aspirations equal their expectations, say that there is at least some chance that their ideal can be reached. Although further investigation is necessary, there is evidence throughout the data which shows that those FCs who express harmony between school aspirations and expectations and/or between first and ideal job choices, tend to do better in school, are in less trouble, and are probably less psychologically torn by the limitations and barriers that are present in their environment.

TABLE 10.41

Could FC Attain Ideal Job Choice Vs. Discrepancy Between FC's Aspirations and Expectations

	Discrepancy Between FC's School Aspirations and Expectations			
Could FC Attain Ideal Job Choice	Expectations Higher	Aspirations Same As Expectations	Aspirations Higher	Total
Maybe	3	11	4	18
No		3	7	10
Yes	2	11	3	16
Total	5	25	14	44

p level .055

We turn now to some of the FCs' perceptions of school expectations held for them by their teachers and parents. As we had predicted, a trend emerged which indicated that those FCs who perceived the highest teacher expectations (i.e., going to college) were more likely to stay in school, and those who felt their teachers had low expectations (i.e., not graduate from high school) were more likely to drop out. However, as Table 10.42 below suggests, this tendency only appears in the extreme categories.

TABLE 10.42

Teacher's Expectations as Perceived by FC Vs. Staying in or Dropping out of School

	FC's Report of His Teacher's School Expectations for Him				
	Not sure	Low	Medium	High	Total
Stay in	0	1	7	7	15
Drop out	2	4	11	3	20
Total	2	5	18	10	35

p level not significant

We did find, however, a steady trend in each of the three years, for FCs with C averages or above to perceive higher teacher expectations. Thus we can infer that teacher expectations have more of an effect on performance in school than on dropping out or staying in. We also found a series of trends concerning the various measures of "hot water", which indicated that FCs who were low in trouble tended to perceive higher teacher expectations. There was, however, no association between school defiance per se and teacher expectations. The strongest effect had to do with hookey: those FCs who played hookey less often were more likely to perceive higher expectations from their teachers.

As a corollary to these trends, it was also found that if FC perceived low expectations he was more likely to be classified as a "tough" or "smart" guy in terms of strategic style; this makes sense since the tough and smart guys were the biggest trouble makers and also had high rates of school absenteeism. Of all the strategic styles, the conformists perceived the highest teacher expectations. This leads us to consider the possibility that conforming behavior is positively valued by the teacher and consequently conformists are rewarded with high expectations. Of course, this can only be inferred since we are dealing solely with the subjects' reports of teacher expectations.

Probably the most suggestive of these reports is that all FCs, with one exception, who were rated low in the combined measure of racial identity, tended to say that their teachers had either medium or high school expectations for them. Again, we wonder if when a student expresses a lack of definition of himself as black, this represents another trait which is valued and rewarded by teachers. It is interesting to note that no associations were uncovered between reports of parents' school expectations and any of the variables that dealt with racial identity and awareness.

Trends were also observed, showing that focal subjects reported higher school expectations from their parents when they came from homes rated as average or above in quality of family life, when they described their relationships with their fathers as positive (regardless of father absence or presence), and when they indicated that they had close relationships with at least some adult males. Father absence or presence in itself was not related to the FC's views of his parents' expectations. As it was pointed out earlier, these family variables were also related to staying in and dropping out of school, as well as to school performance and "hot water."

In contrast to the results regarding teacher expectations and grade point average, we found no relationships between reports of parents' expectations and school performance. Furthermore, a trend showed that when parents expectations were reported as low, the subject was more likely to be a drop out. However, it was fascinating to see that, when parents were reported to have high educational expectations for their sons, there was no distinction between dropouts and stay ins (Table 10.43).

TABLE 10.43

69 Academic Grade Average Vs. Parents' School Expectations for FC

69 Academic Grade Average	Parents' School Expectations for FC Not Sure	Very Low--Low	Medium	High	Total
Fail, Drop out	3	5	6	8	22
Stay	0	1	9	10	20
Total	3	6	15	18	42

p level .12

In addition, a strong trend showed that FCs who did not play hookey often reported that their parents had higher school expectations for them. Also, significantly more subjects who were low in participation in illegal activities, and significantly more subjects who were low on the scale of "total hot water" saw their parents as having either medium or high school expectations (Tables 10.44 and 10.45).

TABLE 10.44

Perceived Parental School Expectations Vs. Illegal Acts

Illegal Acts	FC's Report of Parents' School Expectations Low	Medium/High	Total
Low	0	23	23
Medium/High	8	13	21
Total	8	36	44

p level .003 **

TABLE 10.45

Perceived Parental School Expectation Vs. Total Hot Water

Total Hot Water	FC's Report of Parents' School Expectations Low	Medium/High	Total
Low	1	27	28
Medium/High	5	9	14
Total	6	36	42

p level .025

Thus, it appears that getting into trouble was even more strongly related to the subjects' judgements of his parents', than his teachers' school expectations for him. The "hot water" variables were the most powerfully related to FC's judgements of school expectations than any other group of variables. The effects were such that lower incidence of trouble was related to reports of higher expectations. We did not find that those FCs who were high trouble makers or who played a lot of hookey judged their parents or teachers as having significantly lower school expectations for them. This situation is reminiscent of many of the dropout-stay in results in which the data was more helpful and powerful in describing attributes of these subjects who stayed in, than those who dropped out of school.

School Performance:
Grades, Hookey, and "Hot Water"

Many references have been made in preceding sections to school grades, hookey, and the various measures of "hot water", as they relate to dropping out and school aspirations and expectations. In this section we will review findings which have to do specifically with school behaviors as they relate to each other, and to the areas of family, self-concept, racial identity and work.

Grades and Family

Trends were found which showed that higher school performance (as measured by grades) was associated with higher quality of family life, reports of greater emotional support from parents, positive relationship with father (absent or present), the existence of adult males who are close to FC, and the availability of male models for FC. As Tables 10.46a to 10.50 show, father absence or presence per se was not related to grades. Of these variables, quality of family life and parental supportiveness were most strongly related to grades; relationship with father was next in importance. The existence of close males to FC is only associated with grades in 1967. It is interesting that none of these family variables were associated powerfully enough with school grades to be statistically significant. One exception to this was the finding that significantly more FCs who failed or had "D" averages in 1967 came from homes which were excessively stressful in quality.

TABLE 10.46a

Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father Vs. June 67 Grades

Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father	June 67 Grades° Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	Total
Negative		1	5			6
Neutral	1	2	6	2	1	12
Positive		2	16	8		26
Total	1	5	27	10	1	44

p level not significant

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.46b

Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father Vs. June 1967 Grades

	June 1967 Grades°			
Nature of FC's Relationship with Present or Absent Father	Fail and D	C	B through A	Total
Negative	1	5		6
Neutral	3	6	3	12
Positive	2	16	8	26
Total	6	27	11	44

p level not significant

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.47

FC's Perception of Number of Males Close to Him Vs. June 67 Grades

	June 67 Grades°					
FC's Perception of Number of Males Close to Him	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	Total
No Males		4	2	3	1	10
Few Males	1	2	30	10	1	44
Many Males			1	1		2
Total	1	6	33	14	2	56

p level not significant

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.48

Father Present or Not Vs. June 67 Grades

	June 67 Grades°					
Father Present or Not	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	Total
Absent		4	13	7	1	25
Present	1	2	20	7	1	31
Total	1	6	33	14	2	56

p level not significant

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.49

FC's Perception of Number of Males Close to Him Vs. June 68 Grades

	June 68 Grades						
FC's Perception of Number of Males Close to Him	Dropout	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	Total
No Males	5			3	3		11
Few Males	4	2	7	21	4		38
Many Males	1						1
Total	10	2	7	24	7		50

p level not significant

TABLE 10.50

Quality of Family Life Vs. June 67 Grades

Quality of Family Life	June 67 Grades° Fail/D/Dropout	B or Better	Total
Escessively Stressful Family Situation	5	3	8
Above Average Family Situation		5	5
Total	5	8	13

p level .05 *

°In 1967 there were no dropouts; extreme categories only used in this table.

This is especially important in light of other research on school performance and dropping out which shows that family factors (father absence in particular) have significant influences on how well a student does in school (Cervantes 1966, Bullock 1967, Varner 1967). In addition, these and other studies generally point out that family factors are more powerful in explaining early as opposed to late school performance and school withdrawal. While we did find that family factors were associated more strongly with early school leaving, we did not find, that in general, family factors were of great importance in these areas. In addition, while father absence or presence in itself did not relate at all to school performance or dropping out, we found that the absence or presence of the father as it interacted with other variables such as self-esteem, initiator-reactor and relationship with father, did have significant effects in terms of dropping out. It is hoped that family influences on school behavior can be further sorted out when they are looked at as part of a complex dynamic of variables.*

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* It should be noted here that there were no direct relationships found between school grades and IQ level.

Grades and "Hot Water"

We found in general that "hot water" related more powerfully to school performance than to dropping out. Table 10.51 shows that students with 1967 grades of C or above were significantly lower in school defiance; none of the FCs with F's or D's of that year were low in school defiance. A similar significant trend was found for 1969 grades (Table 10.52). Tables 10.53 - 10.56 all indicate inverse relationship between trouble in and out of school, and school grades. All of these tables show that the students with the highest grades tend to be in less trouble; also, while students with low grades are not usually low in trouble, they are not always strikingly higher in trouble than other FCs. Tables 10.57 and 10.58 show that students with higher grades also play less hookey; however, the students with the lowest grades did not "hook" significantly more frequently.

TABLE 10.51

FC's Defiance of School Authorities and Destruction of School Property Vs. June 67 Grades

	June 67 Grades°		
FC's Defiance of School Authorities and Destruction of School Property	Fail, D	C and Above	Total
Low Defiance		20	20
High Defiance	7	7	14
Total	7	27	34

p level .005 **

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.52

FC's Defiance of School Authorities and Destruction of School Property Vs. Academic Grade Averages for 1969

	Academic Grade Averages for 1969		
FC's Defiance of School Authorities and Destruction of School Property	Dropout, Fail	D and C	Total
Low Defiance	8	12	20
High Defiance	12	4	16
Total	20	16	36

p level .05 *

TABLE 10.53

Total Hot Water Vs. June 67 Grades

	June 67 Grades°		
Total Hot Water--Weighted Frequency of FC's Participation in Activities Likely to Get Him into Trouble in and out of School	Fail, D	C and Above	Total
Low		20	20
Medium	1	21	22
High	6	8	14
Total	7	49	56

p level .0004 ***
extremes significant at .001 ***

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.54

Total Hot Water Vs. June 67 Grades

	June 67 Grades°					
Total Hot Water--Weighted Frequency of FC's Participation in Activities Likely to Get Him into Trouble in and out of School	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	Total
Low			22	12	2	36
High	1	6	11	2		20
Total	1	6	33	14	2	56

p level .005 **

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.55

Non-School Hot Water Vs. June 67 Grades

	June 67 Grades°			
Non-School Hot Water--Weighted Frequency of FC's Participation in Activities Likely to Get Him into Trouble Outside of School	Fail, D	C	B, A	Total
Low	2	20	14	36
High	5	13	2	20
Total	7	33	16	56

p level .02 *
extremes significant at .025 *

TABLE 10.56

Weighted Frequency of FC's Commission of Specified Illegal Acts Vs. June 67 Grades

June 67 Grades°

Weighted Frequency of FC's Commission of Specified Illegal Acts	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	Total
Low	1		18	11	2	32
Medium		2	10	3		15
High		4	5			9
Total	1	6	33	14	2	56

p level .04 *

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.57

How Often Does FC Play Hookey Vs. June 68 Grades

June 68 Grades

How Often Does FC Play Hookey	Drop out	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	Total
Never	3		1	15	4		23
Once or Twice		2	2	7	1		12
Often	4		3	1	1		9
Total	7	2	6	23	6		44

p level .027 *

TABLE 10.58

How Often Does FC Play Hookey Vs. June 68 Grades

How Often Does FC Play Hookey	June 68 Grades Drop out/ Fail/D	C and Over	Total
Never	4	19	23
Once or Twice	4	8	12
Often	7	2	9
Total	15	29	44

p level .006 **

Grades and Self-Concept

In our earlier discussion of dropping out and self-concept, we traced and compared the grade point averages of the "can/practice" FCs and the "can't/natural" FCs. We showed that while proportionately more "can/practice" FCs had higher grades in 1967, members of this group also had a proportionately higher dropout rate by 1969. We also found, by looking at the variable "can-can't" change alone, that in 1967 there was a trend for the can change FCs to have higher grades. Again by 1969 proportionately more of the can change FCs had dropped out. While these findings are suggestive and interesting, further investigation is needed to trace in detail exactly what happens to the students who feel that they can make desired changes and most of whom believe that these changes can come about through their own efforts, that leads them to doing poorly in school and ultimately to drop out. As we will see later, the "can" change FCs tend to play more hookey and are rated higher in school defiance. However, these may just be symptoms of dissatisfaction with the school environment, and while they may account in some cases for the manifest and immediate reason for leaving school, they are not really helpful in explaining underlying causes for dropping out.

Tables 10.59 and 10.60 below indicate, that the "withdrawn", "conformists" and "cool guys" have consistently higher grades than the "smart" and "tough guys". These results are not at all surprising, or divergent from other findings which concern the relationships between strategic styles and school behavior.

TABLE 10.59

June 67 Grades Vs. Strategic Style

	Strategic Style					
June 67 Grades°	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	Withdrawn	Total
Fail						
D		2	4			6
C	13	7	1	11	1	33
B-/B	5	3		3	3	14
B+/A	1				1	2
Total	19	12	5	14	5	55

p level .008 **

°In 1967 there were no dropouts

TABLE 10.60

June 68 Grades Vs. Strategic Style

	Strategic Style					
June 68 Grades	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	Withdrawn	Total
Dropout	1	4	4	1		10
Fail	1	1				2
D	1		1	4		6
C	7	7	1	8	1	24
B-/B	4	1			2	7
B+/A						
Total	14	13	6	13	3	49

p level .067

Grades and Racial Identity

As we mentioned in the section on dropouts, it was found that significantly more FCs who were rated high on combined racial identity were either dropouts, had F, or D grade point averages in 1969. Table 10.60 below, also tells us that FCs with C and B averages tended to score low on racial identity. We have also pointed out that FCs who were rated lower on racial identity tended to report that their teachers had higher school expectations for them. Further investigation is necessary to see if a real interaction exists between these factors of school performance, teacher expectations and racial identity. If we could find convincing evidence of such an interaction, it would provide very revealing and important information about possible conflicts between doing well in school and the individual's development of racial identity. We would be further interested to see how the adolescent perceives and articulates this source of tension, and the different ways in which he chooses to deal with it.

TABLE 10.61

Academic Grade Average for 69 Vs. Combined Race Identity

	Combined Race Identity		
Academic Grade Average for 69	Low	High	Total
Fail/Dropout/D	15	20	35
C/B	16	5	21
Total	31	25	56

p level .05 *

Grades and Work

There was a trend, as shown in Table 10.62 for more FCs with higher grades to aspire to managerial and professional occupations. (Since grades were generally low for the entire sample, and got increasingly lower over the three years, the meaningful split in high and low grades falls between those FCs who have above or below a "C" average). It is interesting and curious, however, that approximately half of the FCs with the highest grades in 1968 listed occupations which were categorized as craftsmen or operative. The concentration of subjects in this category who had B averages is only slightly lower than the proportion of FCs who failed and dropped out and who also chose occupations at this low SES level. Thus the strength of this table comes largely from the high proportion of "C" students who chose professional occupations. We indicated earlier that some FCs with the highest grades finally dropped out and that these students tended to have certain self-concept attributes such as "can" change and "practice." We also found that many "can" change FCs chose occupations categorized as crafts or skilled labor. Thus, there is evidence that at least some of the above average students are not interested in upwardly mobile jobs, and we expect that these students also have a sense of control and mastery over their lives, and/or are high in racial identity. In other words, we might argue that these students who do well in school and aspire to non-professional jobs, are not necessarily potential "underachievers." Instead we suspect that they have assessed their opportunities and have made choices accordingly, despite the fact that they might have a strong sense of agency, and/or a relatively well developed black identity. In fact, when we looked briefly at these individual cases, we found that each one was either a "can" change, "practice", or "high race" FC . Further in-depth investigation is required to see why these particular FCs have made these choices, especially since the remaining students with the highest grades are similar on these self-concept traits. We expect, moreover, that it is the "C" average students who have less of a sense of control over their lives and lower racial identity who ultimately comprise the largest proportion of students who stay in school.

TABLE 10.62

Social-Economic Status: FC's First Job Choice and his June 68 Grades

Social-Economic Status: FC's First Job Choice	June 68 Grades Dropout	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	TOTALS
Craftsman, Operative	5	1	1	3	3		13
Manager				1	2		3
Clerical		1	3	1			5
Professional	4		2	17	4		27
TOTALS	9	2	7	23	7		48

p level .066

In an earlier section we spoke about the presence of harmony between school aspirations and expectations and between first and ideal job choices. We indicated that the FCs who expressed such congruence in their feelings would be more likely to stay in school and would be more "well adjusted" emotionally. Table 10.63 indicates that the "C" average students are significantly more likely to have first job choices which are equal in status to their ideal choices. It is also apparent that the best students are more similar to the worst students and dropouts, in that proportionately more of them have ideal jobs which are higher in status than their first job choices. Again, further investigation is needed before any clear explanation can be made. It will be especially important to ascertain the meaning of an ideal job to the individual, and the extent to which this ideal job becomes a viable force in future decisions and present behaviors. We suspect that there is a range of how seriously the FCs consider their ideals and fantasies, and consequently a wide variety of roles that such fantasies play in their lives.

TABLE 10.63

Social-Economic Status Discrepancy Between FC's First Job Choice and FC's Ideal Job Choice (Group Prestige) and FC's June 68 Grades

Social-Economic Status Discrepancy Between FC's First Job Choice and FC's Ideal Job Choice (Group Prestige)	June 68 Grades						
	Dropout	Fail	D	C	B-/B	B+/A	TOTALS
Ideal Lower Than First Job Choice	2			3			5
First Job Choice Lower Than Ideal	5	2	6	3	3		19
First Job Choice Same as Ideal	2			17	3		22
TOTALS	9	2	6	23	6		46

p level .012*

Hookey

We found no significant associations between family variables and hookey. We did find, however, two interesting and powerful trends: FCs who did not have negative relationships with their fathers tended to "hook" less, and FCs who had at least some close relationships with adult males also tended to play less hookey. In addition, there was a trend for father absent FCs to play more hookey. Thus it appears that while general family support and quality of family life are more strongly related to in-school behaviors such as getting good grades and getting into trouble, relationships with the father and other men are more strongly associated with school withdrawal. This is consonant with our earlier discussion of father presence as it interacted with self-esteem and staying in school.

Returning now to other self-concept measures, the following tables all show that FCs who feel that they cannot change traits, abilities, and skills that they would like to, and most of whom also feel that change can only come about through an alteration of a natural characteristic, all play less hookey. Further, those subjects who express that change is possible and within their control, tend to have higher rates of school absenteeism, as can be seen in Tables 10.64-10.67.

TABLE 10.64

FC's View of the Modifiability of his Inferior Abilities and Skills Through Practice -vs- How Often Does FC Play Hookey

	FC's View of the Modifiability of His Inferior Abilities and Skills Through Practice		
How Often Does FC Play Hookey	Can Change	Can't Change	TOTALS
Never	12	9	21
Once or Twice	9	2	11
Often	8		8
TOTALS	29	11	40

p level .05*

TABLE 10.65

FC's View of the Modifiability of His Inferior Abilities and Skills Through Practice -vs- How Often Does FC Play Hookey

How Often Does FC Play Hookey	FC's View of the Modifiability of His Inferior Abilities and Skills Through Practice Can Change	Can't Change	TOTALS
Does not Play Hookey	12	9	21
Plays Hookey	17	2	19
TOTALS	29	11	40

p level .053*

TABLE 10.66

Reactors Who Can or Can't Change -vs- How Often Does FC Play Hookey

How Often Does FC Play Hookey	Reactors Who Can--Can't Change Can	Can't	TOTALS
Never	4	12	16
Once or Twice	8	3	11
Often	6	3	9
TOTALS	18	18	36

p level .027*

TABLE 10.67

Reactors Who Can or Can't Change -vs- How Often Does FC Play Hookey

How Often Does FC Play Hookey	Reactors Who Can--Can't Change Can	Can't	TOTALS
No Hookey	4	12	16
Yes Hookey	14	6	20
TOTALS	18	18	36

p level .019*

We mentioned earlier that previous studies of school dropouts (see Varner, 1967 for a review of this literature), found that degree of school absenteeism is a powerful predictor of school withdrawal. We said that this discovery is really no more than the isolation of a symptom that indicates dissatisfaction with school. The present data, however, has revealed that certain personality dynamics which have to do primarily with "fate" control and sense of agency, are significantly tied to such withdrawal. Thus, while we found no direct, significant relationship between hookey and dropping out, we did find that subjects who were most likely to stay in or drop out on the basis of certain self-concept findings, showed patterns of playing hookey which were consonant with findings related to total school withdrawal. It has yet to be discovered how and why such personality types react to the school environment in these ways. However, we have been able to move beyond previous work in, at least, beginning to identify some of the dynamic interactions of the individual and his environment which result in dropping out or staying in school.

Two tables cited above (10.57 and 10.58) show the predictable result tht students who do better in school are also absent less frequently. In addition, we found that those FCs whose first job choice was equal in status to their ideal job choice played hookey significantly less (Table 10.66). Again this finding supports our earlier discussion of "harmony" and satisfaction. This table also shows that FCs with first job choices lower in status than their ideal choices tend to play hookey more frequently. Perhaps it is these subjects who are most actively frustrated by their ideal choices and the possibility of attaining them, and is in turn related to the frustration of going to school every day with the feeling that school will not help them to attain these ideal goals. It is interesting that a strong trend was found which showed that these subjects who indicated that they would like to "make a million dollars" or become "president of the United States" played more hookey than those subjects who listed more specific occupations for their ideal job choices. We would predict then that those FCs who wanted the former type of ideal "job" and who placed some real value on attaining it (which might be expressed in a variety of direct or indirect ways), would be more likely to feel frustrated with school, and possibly then more prone to school withdrawal.

TABLE 10.68

Social-Economic Status Discrepancy Between FC's First Job Choice and FC's Ideal Job Choice (Group Prestige) -vs- How Often Does FC Play Hookey

Social-Economic Status Discrepancy Between FC's First Job Choice and FC's Ideal Job Choice (Group Prestige)	How Often Does FC Play Hookey		
	No Hookey	Yes Hookey	TOTALS
Ideal Lower Than First	2	4	6
First Lower Than Ideal	6	14	20
First Same as Ideal	16	8	24
TOTALS	24	26	50

p level .04*

School Trouble and Non School Trouble

In the following section we will discuss factors associated primarily with school trouble, that have not yet been reported, and will make only occasional references to non-school "hot water." We have already dealt with dropping out, grades and educational aspirations as they relate to school defiance. We turn now to associations with family, self-concept and race variables.

The following correlations indicate relationships between our measure of school defiance and variables which deal with non-school "hot water": school defiance and participation in illegal activities (r+.589, p level less than .01); school defiance and fighting (r= .130, p level not significant); school defiance and non-school hot water (r = .349, p level less than .01). Thus, we find that being disruptive in school is highly related to out-of-school trouble-making activities.

Unfortunately, we were able to get accounts of the degree and nature of punishment incurred by FCs due to school defiance, for less than half the sample. Keeping this limitation in mind, we found significant correlations (all p levels less than .01) between school punishment and school defiance (r = .589), and between school punishment and the combined measure of non-school hot water (r = .447). We will return below to further findings which have to do with school punishment.

School Defiance and Family Variables

FCs who were rated as either low or medium in school defiance tended to come from homes rated higher in parental support.

TABLE 10.69

School Defiance -vs- Family Support

Family Support	School Defiance Low	Medium	High	TOTAL
Low	3	2	5	10
Medium	4	9	2	15
High	7	5	1	13
TOTALS	14	16	8	38

p level .05*

Further, we found that FCs who had families which were rated as excessively stressful, tended to be higher in school defiance.

TABLE 10.70

School Defiance -vs- Quality of Family Life

Quality of Family Life	School Defiance Low	High	TOTAL
Excessive Strain	5	10	15
Average	13	6	19
Above Average	4	0	4
TOTALS	22	16	38

p level less than .024

In contrast with trends associated with hookey, no relationships were found between school defiance and any of the variables that dealt with the father or with other adult males. This lends further evidence to our earlier observation that general family support is closely tied with doing well in school, while father-related factors are more bound up to school withdrawal. We did find, however, a significant association between father's occupation and school defiance; more sons of craftsmen (which was the highest SES occupational group held by the fathers) were lower in school defiance (cited above as Table 6.1). That table also shows that sons of unskilled laborers were with one exception all rated as high in school defiance. It is interesting and perhaps related, that FCs who aspired to occupations which were lower than, or equal to, the status of the job choices they reported their fathers wanted them to have, were significantly higher in school defiance than those FCs who had higher aspirations than their fathers were reported to hold for them (Table 10.69).

TABLE 10.71

Social-Economic Status Discrepancy Between FC's First Job Choice and Father's Job Choice for FC (Group Prestige) -vs- FC's Defiance of School Authorities and Destruction of School Property.

Social-Economic Status Discrepancy Between FC's First Job Choice and Father's Job Choice for FC (Group Prestige)	FC's Defiance of School Authorities and Destruction of School Property Low	High-Medium	TOTALS
FC Lower Than Parent/ FC Same as Parent	3	14	17
FC Higher Than Parent	7	3	10
TOTALS	10	17	27

p level .01**

School Defiance, School Punishment and Self-Concept

A trend showed that of those FCs who were rated as high in school defiance, 75% were classified as "can" change. This finding is consistent with many of our previous reports of the "can" change FCs. In addition, we found that withdrawn, conformist and cool guy FCs were significantly lower in school defiance if they stayed in school, and tended to be higher in defiance if they dropped out. Further, a non-significant trend showed that the tough and smart guys who stayed in were lower in school defiance than those who dropped out. Again, it is difficult to say whether these variations in school defiance can explain dropping out. It seems more likely that school defiance is a part of school dissatisfaction, and is one of many interacting factors which lead an individual to stay in or leave school.

The table below shows that regardless of school staying or leaving, FCs labeled conformist and withdrawn received significantly less school punishment than members of the other strategic style groups (Table 10.70). It is these two groups of subjects who had the highest rate of staying in school. Further, it was interesting to discover that FCs with low self-esteem were not punished more than FCs with high self-esteem (Table 10.71). Thus, the notion that being negatively sanctioned in school leads to low self-esteem was not upheld by our findings.

TABLE 10.72

School Punishment -vs- Strategic Style

	Strategic Style					
School Punishment	Cool	Smart	Tough	Conformist	Withdrawn	TOTALS
Not Suspended		1	2	4	1	8
Suspended	5	6	1	2		14
TOTALS	5	7	3	6	1	22

p level .047*

TABLE 10.73

School Punishment -vs- Self-Esteem

	Self-Esteem			
School Punishment	Low	Medium	High	TOTALS
Not Suspended	5	2	1	8
Suspended		14	1	15
TOTALS	5	16	2	23

p level .001 ***

Finally, in Table 10.72, we found that those FCs who were articulate about specific differences between blacks and whites, as opposed to those FCs who said that blacks and whites are the same, received significantly more punishment in school (Table 10.72). This finding lends further evidence to our earlier suggestion that a heightened sense of racial awareness is a trait which is negatively sanctioned in school. It would be necessary here to uncover the "justice" of these punishments in order to describe more exactly how those individuals, who are aware of racial differences, might act differently and/or how they are consequently treated differently by their teachers.

TABLE 10.74

School Punishment -vs- Stereotyping--FC's Statements About Racial Differences

	Stereotyping--FC's Statements About Racial Differences		
School Punishment	Yes Differences	No Differences	TOTALS
No or Mild Punishment	1	3	4
Hit	3	1	4
Suspended or Expelled	12	2	14
TOTALS	16	6	22

p level .055

CHAPTER 11

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Earlier, in the introduction to chapter 9, we mentioned that the areas of race and work were the two we found most difficult to analyze in the present study. In the case of occupational attitudes and aspirations, a number of factors contribute to these difficulties: the lack of clarity and resolution that one would ordinarily expect of young adolescents is further compounded by the inadequacy of available occupational information, the absence of vocational role models particiuliarly at the more prestigious and professional levels, the realistically-based doubts and fears about work which ghetto youth must develop as they see that struggles and privations of those around them, the conflict between reporting to researchers the job choices to which they would like to be able to aspire unambivalently and the "contingency plans" they have had to develop since they became aware of the high rate of frustration and failure of the adults and older contemporaries in their communities.

Aside from briefly sketching some previously reported findings in the domain of occupation, the variables we will be mainly concerned with relate to FC's first and second job choices, and his ideal job choice, with particular reference to paternal and to maternal influences on occupational aspiration.

First Job Choices

The focal's first job choices are shown in Table 11.1. In some cases there were discrepancies between the title of the occupation given by a boy and the actual work he described. In those cases, the occupation was classified by the focal subject's description of the work rather than the title.

Discrepancies between the occupational titles given by the FCs and the actual work they describe are relatively few but are important to discuss in view of the fact that most of the relevant literature and research takes the respondent's job label at face value. Most of the FCs' confusion that we found centered around differences between the name of, and actual work involved in in such occupations as "engineer", "electronics" (technician or repairman), "data-processing", and "electrician". One boy aspires to be an engineer - a man who "designs things". He also says that his father is an "engineer" and describes his father's work as a television repairman. The term "electronics" has a similar vague definition; one boy, naming his choice "electronics" could not explain at all what sort of work a man in this field does while for two other boys it meant building radios and radio and television repair, respectively.

One way to understand this sort of confusion is to look upon the job's title as a "combination of a price tag and a calling card" (Hughes, 1958, p.42). The title "engineer" carries a message reading "skill, prestige, high income, not subject to loss by automation, you too can do it". The work "electronics" almost always exemplifies the "new" technological realm of work to which the corporations and job-training organizations are constantly recruiting youngsters through the media, wall posters and matchbook covers. The boys do get the message that to enter "electronics" is to have a "good job" with a "future", just as all the boys (drop-out or stay-in) in this sample parrot sincerely and often earnestly, the "don't-be-a-dropout" message communicated to them by everyone from social workers to the singer James Brown. Many youths we have interviewed expressed the desire for this kind of "good" job (electronics) without really knowing the title's referent: when pressed for details, he explains that he will repair television sets - one job involving "electronics" which men known to him have successfully performed. This same reasoning could lead us to conclude not that the teenager would enjoy repairing televisions, but that he would like a more prestigious title.

> The sense of having a fixed place is grinding...In compensation (for limited mobility opportunities) there is a considerable - and sometimes pathetic - effort, if not to lift oneself, to lift one's occupation by the bootstraps...The effort to 'professionalize' work has become the major means of giving one's job a badge of honorific quality which the work itself denies...individuals do not say 'I am selling skillets' but 'I am in selling...' (Bell, 1956, pp. 35-36.)

In some cases an FC might use the same job title - "engineer", for example, to describe both his father's job and his own job aspirations. Ordinarily he might not then be coded as upwardly mobile in reference to his father's job. However, the boy who says his father is an engineer, but whose work is actually to repair televisions may be expressing respect for his father or wanting his father's work to sound more impressive by entitling him an "engineer" while himself aspiring to be an "engineer" of another sort. Most of the examples of discrepancies between FC's and parents' descriptions of the fathers' jobs arise from the focal's giving a higher level title to his father's job than the actual job description would merit.

A note on auto mechanics, which along with engineering and the electronics - data-processing cluster, was the one job most frequently picked. Its popularity is due not only to its being a skilled trade, but it is obviously appealing to teenage boys who are characteristically fascinated if not obsessed by cars and, often risk a great deal to be the driver of, or doctor to a "hog" (Cadillac). Miller and Swanson (1966, p. 347) note in passing that nearly all the boys in their sample, both middle- and working-class, chose this job as a first or second choice (when presented with a list of jobs similar in status and income).

Antonovsky and Lerner (1959) found that black youth in an upstate New York city of 5,000 had higher-level aspirations and more realistic projections of their own work in the future than did the white teenager, when social class was held constant. The authors found the "top three" job levels (professional, semi-professional, and executive) very appealing to the black youth at the expense of the skilled trades and small business. Lawrence (1950) found a similar pattern among black tenth-graders in California. The popularity of these highest status jobs is not confirmed in our small sample, nor do the FCs exclude skilled trades from consideration. And we would expect that larger samples, likewise, would show less of a bias toward higher status jobs than these researchers describe. This may be because there has been a proliferation of job-training programs for skilled trades and an increase in propaganda regarding the availability of opportunities for blacks since 1957 when Antonovsky and Lerner's field work was done. Consequently, the status levels of the occupational aspirations of black youth may be reduced and may show greater variability.

TABLE 11.1

Occupational First Choices of FCs

Number	Occupation
4	Judge; Lawyer
2	Doctor
7	Engineer (construction)
1	Real Estate
1	Musician
1	Astronomer
1	Weatherman
2	Pilot; Chemist
1	Veterinarian
2	Accountant
4	Teacher (including Draftsman, Physical Education, Commercial Artist)
1	Social Worker
1	Undertaker
2	Athlete
1	T.V. Salesman
2	Data Processing; Electronics Technician
3	Electrician
2	"Office work" (2)
2	Electronics (repair)
1	Small Market Owner
1	Toolmaker
1	Singer
2	Mechanic
1	Welder
1	Construction (skilled)
2	Carpenter
7	Auto Mechanic

First-Vs-Second Job Choices of FCs

To recapitulate the case we presented in the discussion of Hypothesis V we have been interpreting focal's first job choice as more likely to be related to his aspirations than his real expectations, while focal's second job choice was considered more likely to portray jobs FC felt were possible to attain. Though FC's first and second job choices are correlated significantly (.38), this interpretation is supported by the fact that the occupational level (prestige) of FC's first job choice correlates with the level of FC's ideal job choice at .49*, whereas FC's second job choice is not significantly correlated to his ideal job choice. This may seem quite obvious, and it is: FC's second job choice is clearly a second choice which he would not have volunteered had he not been asked to consider the possibility that he might not attain his first choice. The main point is that FCs' second job choices may reflect the doubts they have about their ambition and could represent "contingency plans", or aspirations to be sought when occupational dreams and desires have been crushed or have become unattainable as the economic facts of life faced by the black man in America become clearer to these young men.

* This relationship obtains whether or not the "fantasy" ideal jobs are included.

There are also, as we have shown in Chapter 4, important differences between focals' first and second job choices in terms of their associations with demographic and familial variables. FC's first job choice** is positively associated with his not coming from an extended family (.26), SES level of second job choice (.32), level of FC's ideal job (.49), Total WAIS or WISC IQ (.30), WAIS or WISC Performance Subscale [r (status) = .31], with FC's feeling that his relative lack of competence in valued areas is the result of natural deficiencies rather than factors he can influence (.32), and with the willingness to push a button (-.30) which would turn all whites in America into blacks (and which, FC might feel, would give him better occupational prospects). First job choice is not associated with any father-related variable nor with any variable associated with school.

Second job choice, however, has important positive correlates with: father's occupational level as reported by FC (.54), father's occupational level as obtained from parents during the screening interview (.43), and school expectations (.31). In addition table 11.2 shows that the higher the SES of FC's second job choice the more likely he is to aspire to college. The strongest contributor to this finding is a group of 17 focals who want to become professionals and who aspire to college.

**Occupational "prestige" level is given unless otherwise noted.

TABLE 11.2

FC's Second Job Choice - Vs - His School Aspirations

Second Job Choice

School Aspirations	Blue Collar	White Collar/Professional	Total
High school graduate or less	9	2	11
College	14	20	34
Total	23	22	45

p. level .05

Another example of this is the association between focal's second job choice and quality of family life. Whereas FC's first job choice is not associated with either family support or quality of family life, Table 11.3 show that those focals who select blue-collar jobs as their second choices tend to come from families rated as "stressful" while Focals who choose white collar jobs or profession tend to come from families rated as "average" or "above average" in quality of family life. If second job choice has previously seemed to represent a limitation on occupational ambitions, it could be that familial stress is one source of the limitation, one factor which could act as a "ceiling" on FC's job ambitions.

TABLE 11.3

Quality of Family Life and FC's Second Job Choice

	Quality of Family Life		
FC's Second Job Choice	Stressful	Average/above average	Total
Blue Collar	14	11	25
White Collar/Professional	6	21	27
Total	20	32	52

p. level .05

Because of the differences between these two occupational variables, we feel that past research into the occupational aspirations of black youth, particularly surveys, may not have discerned existing family background effects that future research design might well provide for the elicitation of both kinds of occupational preference. We originally included second job choice solely because of our experience with black youth; we have no strong sense of whether the same distinctions should obtain for other samples of youth.

Aspects of job aspirations associated with parents

The high occupational aspiration and expectation level of the black youth in Antonovsky and Lerner's sample is more striking when one considers that the fathers of these boys had less prestigious and lower-paying jobs and were less occupationally mobile than were the fathers of the white boys. Almost twice as many homes of the black teenagers had been broken by reasons other than death than homes of the whites, and at an earlier age in the teenager's life. All of the above would diminish the probability that the black teenager in this sample could look to his father as a "success" or model for emulation, in terms of the larger society. Rather than depressing mobility strivings, the "unsuccessful" model may, as these authors suggest and as we had suggested earlier, increase the son's desire to achieve and to excel.

Gould (1941) found a similar phenomenon among college students of immigrant and lower-status backgrounds. Through a process Gould labels "dissociation", the son tries to escape, by as long a range as possible, the fate of a father who has been termed or who has come to view himself as a "failure" at his work. Our interviews show that some of the FCs' fathers themselves are active agents in this process by advising their sons - "Don't lead the life I led", or "don't get trapped into the same kind of dirty work (or dead-end job) I got stuck with".

Following the above reasoning, we might have predicted that the sons of unskilled workers would have higher, or at least as high aspirations as the sons of skilled workers. However, on the basis of the pilot interviewing and the work of other researchers, we felt that a more complex set of predictions was merited. Kahl (1953), Simpson (1962) and Gerald Bell (1963), among others, have stressed the role of the parents affecting the aspirations of their sons. Both Bell and Simpson found higher parental aspiration and encouragement for their sons to be a better predictor of high occupational aspiration in the sons than parental social class. We felt that the kind of occupational encouragement or discouragement parents communicated to their children would also be related to their work experiences, and more so than the SES of their jobs. Let us recapitulate some of our early discussion of Hypothesis V, in Chapter 4.

First, it was felt that the father's job satisfaction would more likely predict aspects of FC's job aspirations than would the SES level of father's occupation. The effect suggested just below - that the father's negative occupational experiences could act to elevate FC's aspirations and expectations received some suggestive support in two obtained correlations: the more dissatisfied FC perceives his father to be in his job, the higher he perceives his father's occupational aspirations for him to be, and the more job dissatisfaction FC perceives in his father, the more FC feels that he could attain his ideal job. Secondly, we did not predict an association between father's occupational SES and FC's first job choice but predicted instead a relationship of father's SES with FC's second job choice, since we felt that his second job choice might be less influenced by various sources of "halo". This expectation was also confirmed: no significant association was obtained between father's occupational level and FC's first job choice, whereas a significant correlation was obtained for the second job choice and father's occupation, as his son reported it. (Incidentally, the mean SES score of second job choices is lower than the mean of the first job choices.) In addition, the one instance where we expected that there would be a positive rather than an inverse relationship between father's job satisfaction and a focal job choice variable was in the case of FC's negative job choice where we felt that FCs whose fathers were satisfied in their jobs would be less likely to fear falling into a low level job if things didn't turn out and, therefore, predicted that they would perceive their father's as having higher negative job choices for them. As shown in Table 4.16, this prediction was confirmed: father's perceived job satisfaction was positively correlated with level of negative job choice (.50).

As we considered in greater detail in Chapter 3, the power and influence of the mother in low-income class black families - especially with reference to child rearing and aspiration formation has been constantly debated in the literature. Gist and Bennett (1963) and Bennett and Gist (1965) studying black and white Kansas City high school students of all social classes, expected such "matricentrism" to evidence itself in the influence of female figures, particularly the mother, upon black adolescents' occupational aspirations. They found "matricentrism of influence" common in both black and white students of lower- and middle-class backgrounds. Only in the upper-class homes of both races were fathers the chief influence upon their children's occupational choices.

The importance of fathers and other men in influencing the FC's job choices was strongly evidenced in our data. It was clear that watching, talking to and emulating men working at particular jobs was a major source of inspiration for the youth in our sample in choosing their own preference for jobs. However, it was also true that mothers made job suggestions which influenced, and were congruent with, the choices expressed by their sons. These findings, then, do not confirm the expectation of matricentric influence as the dominant force in the formation of occupational aspirations.

Mothers seem to make as many concrete suggestions about the kinds of jobs they would like their sons to have as do fathers. This was surprising since we had expected that many mothers, especially those who were not working or who had little work experience, would be vague and non-specific in their occupational preferences for their sons. However, mothers were overrepresented in suggesting jobs of the "highest status" category*, and there was a tendency for fathers

* Mothers' mean perceived job choices for focals are significantly higher than those of fathers.

to suggest skilled trades more frequently than do the mothers. This might be interpreted as above, by the relative distance separating the mother from the world of man's work. The father's view of what jobs are available, their nature, and who gets what job is more bound to the realities of the work-world of which he is a part. On the other hand, the mother, who knows this world less directly, may be less painfully aware of the limited opportunities for black youth in the higher occupational SES levels. Hurvitz (1964, p. 106.) suggests that the working-class wife, more often than her husband, holds "middle-class values and attitudes as a result of her greater exposure to these through the mass media." Such "middle-class" attitudes might, in our sample, account for large leaps in mobility and a preference on the part of mothers for their sons to seek jobs of the highest status, to the exclusion of the skilled trades, which may be more accessible to their sons or closer to their actual interests and perceived competencies.

The interaction of the mother and father in an intact home brings one of the father's "outside" worlds back into the home. Not only does the father provide an example of a man participating in "the world of work", but he brings the experience of this world closer to his children and to his wife, who may also transmit information about the work world to her children. When the father is not living at home this connection with the work world is indirect.

Women are less informed than their husbands about the range of jobs available, the routine, the satisfactions and frustrations of jobs which men commonly hold. This lack of information is, of course, intensified by the lack of sustained contact with a father who returns home each day after eight hours in this "world". Even if the mother works, her work will likely be different from that of the father. especially when the man is the head of the household.

In Chapter 7 we posited that, in the absence of adult working males (FCs' fathers or father-surrogates in the households, other males in the extended family) mothers' perceived job aspirations for FCs would tend to be higher than if the mothers had close contact with working males. This was an inference from two correlations that showed that FCs from extended families (in which there are invariably working men) tended to have both lower job aspirations and that they perceived their mothers as having lower job aspirations for them, than FCs who did not come from extended families.

In their important study (1969), the Duncans implied that, in the absence of a father or father-surrogate, the job aspirations of the black male youth might be elevated by influences which came from his mother's experience in working.

To test for this possibility, we divided the FCs into two groups: those who were father-absent or lacking a father-surrogate in the household, and those who were either father-present or who had a surrogate in the house. For each group, we ran FC's first job choice against mother's working or not working, predicting that the fact that FCs whose mothers were working would tend to have higher job aspirations when neither fathers nor father-surrogates were in the household, whereas there would be no similar relationship obtained for those FCs who lived with their fathers or father-surrogates. Table 11.4 confirms the latter prediction of no effect of mother's working on FC's job aspirations for those FCs who were living with males who had paternal relationships with and responsibilities for them. Table 11.5 confirms the prediction of an "elevating" effect of the mothers' working on the occupational aspirations of father-absent youth.

TABLE 11.4

Mother's Working or Not - Vs - FC's First Job Choice for FCs Living with Fathers or Father Surrogates

	Mother Working or at Home		
FC's First Job Choice	Working	Not Working	Total
Blue Collar	5	7	12
White Collar	13	16	29
Total	18	23	41

p level not significant

TABLE 11.5

Mother's Working or Not - Vs - FC's First Job Choice for Father-Absent FCs (or Those Lacking Father Surrogates)

FC's First Job Choice	Mother Working or at Home Working	Not Working	Total
Blue Collar	0	7	7
White Collar	5	5	10
Total	5	12	17

p level .041*

Further evidence for this interpretation comes from a significant inverse relationship (-.62) between the recency of the father's separation from the household and the mother's perceived job aspirations for her son: the longer the father has been out of the house, the higher will be the mother's perceived job aspirations. Thus, our findings showed, for a variety of different reasons which are outlined above, that, in general, mothers were reported to have higher job aspirations for their sons than were fathers. In addition, FC's first job choices tended to be higher in SES if their mothers were working and their fathers were absent.

We also noted, in Chapter 7, while discussing Tables 7.9 and 7.29 that father-absent focals were less likely to feel that they could attain their ideal job choices than were father-present focals; the focals' optimism about reaching their ideal jobs does, however, rise in the case of focals whose fathers are absent, as the frequency of contacts with the absent father increases (.48). What seems to happen is that ideal job aspiration level is depressed, but to a more "realistic" level, so that focals who have more contact with their fathers become more optimistic about their ability to attain non-"fantasy" occupational levels. The notion that the father and other available males contribute a note of "realism", pessimism at times, to the son's vocational aspirations receives indirect support from the inverse relationship observed between FC's being able to select male models for identification and his choice of what we have called, in the discussion of Table 7.31, "fantasy" ideal job choices: FCs who do not choose to identify with available male models tend more to select "fantasy" job ideals than those who identify with available male models.

It should be stressed, however, that the selection of "less realistic" ideal jobs is not solely a function of the absence of the father or the lack of availability of male models, but may come about regardless of how much contact FC has with his father, if the father does not provide his son with concrete suggestions about possible occupational futures. Table 11.6 shows that FCs who cite their fathers as wanting them to go into a specific line of work (or one of several concrete possibilities) tend not to select "fantasy" job ideals, whereas focals who report their fathers as simply wanting them to get "a good job" or as communicating no job preference at all tend to choose "fantasy" ideals.*

TABLE 11.6

FC Mentions Millionaire, Wise Man, President as Ideal Job Choice - Vs - What FC's Father Wants Him to Be When FC Grows Up

	FC Mentions Millionaire, Wise Man, President as Ideal Job Choice		
What FC's Father Wants Him to Be When FC Grows Up	No	Yes	Total
Non-Specific	6	13	19
Specific Occupation	14	8	22
Total	20	21	41

p level .05*

Other Influences on Occupational Aspirations

Davis (1964) reports that experiences and advice in school played a negligible role in the development of career preferences among Texas high school girls of working-class backgrounds. Kahl (1953) found that among those "common man" boys whose occupational outlooks differed from those of their parents that the source of information was typically a friend and "never" books or movies. Our data tend to support Davis' finding about the minor role of the school in the formation of occupational goals. Few boys chose an occupation to which they had been exposed in the classroom (though one homeroom teacher made a point of regularly introducing particular jobs, describing the work itself and the preparation needed.)

It is not surprising that inner-city schools have little impact on the vocational aspirations of students. In the school from which our sample was selected, for example, there were two guidance counselors for over 600 students, and one of the counselors had been only recently appointed. Previously one teacher had been responsible for the entire student body. Even though both guidance counselors expressed more than usual interest in the students and a long term commitment to the educational community which had withstood the constant turmoil and sharp frustration abroad in the school, they each had a staggering roster of students to see, very little time in which to see individual students, and labored under covert job descriptions, which if they had been typed out, would require each counselor to formally commit himself to being social worker, disciplinarian, "catcher-in-the-rye" to lost students, tutor, vocational training expert, and psychotherapist, among other required occupational roles. The problem of the overwhelming student-counselor ratio, the concern with the breakdown of "law and order" in this particular school, the pressure for counselors to be "ombudsmen" between students and teachers or administrators combined to make many of the brief contacts between students and counselors very present-oriented, often concerned with immediate questions of discipline, attendance, personal problems of students, with virtually no time for consideration of more complex and elusive issues of aspiration and motivations. In addition, we must consider the implications and rigidities of tracking for individual students whose academic and occupational fates could be facilitated or foreclosed by the simple fact of being assigned to a section.

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* It should be mentioned that when we refer to a "lower" or "depressed" ideal occupational choice as more "realistic" or "pessimistic", we are using "realism" or "pessimism" to reflect the range of opportunities offered by the society to upwardly-mobile blacks, but not implying that such "realistic" and structurally racist constrictions on occupational possibilities should be tolerated.

To say these things is not in the least to blame either these guidance counselors or others who may be less dedicated or competent. We found that a counselor was sometimes regarded as the only person in the school who cared about particular children, though there were other teachers in this school who cared a great deal. The job, as it must be performed given the present structure of the schools, is impossible.

Let us concentrate on vocational issues alone. In most American schools vocational counseling or guidance refers to the monitoring and adjustment of factors which facilitate or inhibit the student's promotion from one level of schooling to the next. Although the overt goal of guidance, as with other areas of teaching, is the development in the students of a bank of information and skills which will enable him to achieve his educational, occupational and social goals in this society, the covert goal is, ultimately, job placement or those necessary steps antecedent to job placement. Yet the fact is that the bulk of the guidance staff's armamentarium is oriented towards strictly educational possibilities, and in the ghetto school the ideal goal being those few students who might go to liberal arts college; few guidance teachers have an adequate knowledge of alternatives to usual academic progression. This is especially ironic in areas and in times where there is a great deal of pressure for and interest in actually working at something concrete on the part of the students (a phenomenon which is spreading into middle class areas).

What do the students bring with them to the guidance situation? First, a very poor notion of what occupations actually do exist. For the black students in our sample ambiguity and vagueness about the job world is directly related to the status of particular jobs: since occupational role models of higher status jobs are not available to the boys, they are very fuzzy as to what the job really involves; we found, for example, a significant inverse relationship between clarity of perception of first job choice and the status of the job, to the effect that the higher the status level of the FC's first job choice, the less he clearly or accurately knows about that job, (-.28).

Not only do the students often know very little about particular jobs, but they are confused about existing job hierarchies and the interrelationships of available jobs - as witness our earlier citation of the confusions surrounding the operational definitions of "engineer", "electrician", "electronics technician", and "data processing" person. They are equally uncertain as to the steps necessary to achieve any of these goals. Also, they receive different messages and pressures as to what they should do from parents, peers and teachers. As we reported above, mothers and fathers differ significantly in the occupational levels of job choices they propose to their sons. Several of the focals were upset because they felt their mothers' aspirations for them were either too demanding, unrealistic, or did not fit with their talents and interests. Others were concerned because they wanted to choose their fathers as occupational role models but the fathers had adamantly advised them never to get stuck in anything as bad as what they were working at. Into this picture, put the lure of street-life, or the possible satisfactions of work and regular pay, as communicated by peers who have dropped out of school, and the anxieties induced through the stories of the unsuccessful hustlers who have become winos or the "B and E" men who have gotten busted. Then add the conflicting inputs from teachers: one teacher is encouraging Eddie to become a commercial artist because he doodles in class and legitimizing his doodling seems the best way of dealing with him; another teacher encourages him to take the examination for Boston Latin, the city's most prestigious "academic" high school; he wants to be an auto mechanic, but his father, mother and teachers discourage him. No wonder he may develop different, coexistent sets of job preferences or "contingency plans", or no plans at all, and thus be inscrutable to our research interests.

Perhaps the most bitter deficit of information which accompanies the boy to his hurried guidance session is a lack of knowledge of the real probabilities, even if he were sure of what he wanted, of his achieving the training he sought, and, worse, of his being able to translate the training into a job. (These probabilities are starkly laid out in Duncan's work.) In the pilot and present studies we found several examples of black youth being encouraged (in these instances, not by guidance counselors) to go into trades where they would not be able to get into the unions because of union racial barriers.

Given the degree of misinformation, ambiguity, self-doubt with which the black teenage boy approaches the guidance counselor, assuming the counselor has time for him, what can be expected from the typical encounter? Not a great deal. Again, this is not the fault of the individual guidance counselor (rather, the most well meaning counselor could not markedly improve the situation), but that of his training, his conflicting roles and ambivalent receptions within the school (in some ways the guidance counselor is the "nigger" of the school system) and those pressures and structural qualities of the school which make it impossible for him to adequately discharge any one of his impossible tasks. But in relation to the black student, the guidance counselor, particularly the white guidance teacher, is at a great loss. For he will usually be unaware of the actual job situation for black youth; he may not know which unions discriminate against blacks, which trade or vocational school directs blacks into occupational categories that could become obsolescent or no longer be in demand before the student has finished his course; he will not be familiar enough with the kinds of "run-arounds" which blacks receive from employers to be able to adequately counsel his students as to how to circumvent these "run-arounds".

In view of these factors it is not surprising that school experience may be less powerful than experience with family, extended family members, or peers on the one hand, or messages communicated by the media, on the other.

The boys in the sample do seem to be more influenced by the media than we would have expected on the basis of Kahl's (1953) study. There has been, of course, a tremendous proliferation of seductive messages about occupational opportunities coming into American homes via the media since the time of his study. Television and books have usually served the FCs as supplements to an idea already initiated by the boy's recognition of a talent or inclination (e.g., athletics) or as a means of learning about a particular field already chosen (e.g., reading a home-repairs manual for a boy who was aspiring to be an electrician). In the seventh grade sample, for example, only one of the six boys whose job choices were strongly influenced by the media had received the initial idea from such exposure; he chose to be a rocket engineer after reading an article in Jet magazine.

Could FC Attain His Ideal Job Choice?

A number of findings have been cited which shed some light on FC's ideal job choice and the bases for his feelings that he can or cannot attain it. One of the most important determinants of FC's feeling that he can attain his ideal job we infer to be the nature of inputs and anecdotes concerning work which the father contributes to his son (as in Table 11.6): both father-present FCs (Table 7.9) and those whose fathers are absent but who see them frequently are more likely to feel they can reach their job ideal than focals whose fathers are absent and who see them rarely (r=.48). We have also described reasons for the inference that the dynamism, by which intensity of contact with the father elevates FC's optimism about reaching his job ideal, involves, at least partially, the fact that FCs who don't see their fathers very frequently and who come from families characterized as "stressful" or low in supportiveness, tend to choose what we have called "fantasy" job ideals which have miniscule possibilities of attainment. Another incidental bit of evidence for this interpretation comes from the fact that only 1 in 10 of the focals who are in the "high" extreme of the self-esteem trichotomy chooses as his ideal job a "fantasy" occupation (The relevant data can be found in Tables 7.30-7.32). This interpretation also seems to explain what initially were somewhat disconcerting negative correlations between relationships with father and ideal job (prestige) level (-.34), and between the total family support score and ideal job (SES) level (-.27). (Since the SES form of the ideal job choice variable includes the "fantasy", i.e., "millionaire-wise man-president", category, one might suspect that the negative association between strength of relationship with father and choice of ideal job is somehow inflated. However, the "prestige" form of the SES variable lacks the "fantasy" category; thus the preceding interpretation seems accurate.) In other words, the better is FC's relationship to his father, the more informed he is about the occupational world and the less likely he is to name "fantasy" or other "unrealistically" high SES occupations in his ideal job choices.

FC's feelings about his ability to attain his ideal job are also associated with his strategic style and with the discrepancy between FC's school aspirations and his expectations.

Regarding strategic style: Of focals who are classified into the various strategic styles (Table 11.7) the "cool guys" are, not surprisingly, the most optimistic regarding their chances of attaining their ideal jobs--no "cool" focal says he thinks he can't reach his vocational ideal. Two thirds of the "smart guys" and slightly over half of the "withdrawn kids" also think they can attain their ideal jobs. The "tough guys" are equally divided. The only surprise in this table is that the "conformists" whom we expected to be more optimistic, since they are concerned with cautiously "playing the system", are evenly divided between those who feel they can obtain their ideal jobs and those who feel it is doubtful or impossible.

TABLE 11.7

Strategic Style Vs Could FC Reach Ideal Job?

	Strategic Style					
Could FC Attain Ideal Job Choice	Cool Guy	Smart Guy	Tough Guy	Conformist	Withdrawn	Total
No		5	1	7	1	14
Maybe	12	8	1	1	1	23
Yes	4	2	2	6	3	17
Total	16	15	4	14	5	54

p level .007**

Table 11.8 shows that focals who believe they cannot achieve their jobs also expect to attend fewer years of school than they would like to, in other words, to drop out before they have achieved their academic goals.

TABLE 11.8

FC: Discrepancy Between School Aspirations and Expectations Vs Could FC Reach Ideal Job?

	Discrepancy Between School Aspirations and Expectations		
Could FC Reach Ideal Job	Expectation Equal to or Higher Than Aspirations	Aspirations Higher Than Expectations	Total
No	3	7	10
Maybe/Yes	27	7	34
Total	30	14	44

p level .01

Reasons Why FC Can or Cannot Attain His Ideal Job Choice

After each boy was asked to think about and specify his ideal job choice, we would ask him if he thought he could ever reach that aspiration. At the time the work interview was constructed we had not anticipated that we would want to code more than FC's sense of whether he could or could not attain his vocational ideal. For this reason, there was no routine probing for the reasons behind his judgment. During the analysis of negative job choice data, we began to see that the reasons FC spontaneously gave for his negative or ideal job choices often were associated with both familial variables (Chapter 7, *passim*) and aspects of self-concept related to sense of effectiveness (relations between both the self-esteem and the initiator-reactor variable and the perception of potential dangers inherent in negative job choices, as shown in Tables 8.2 and 8.11). Therefore, we wanted to test whether similar relationships would obtain between the possible attainment or non-attainment of ideal jobs and similar variables. On this basis we made two predictions for that small number of FCs who spontaneously gave reasons why they might or might not attain their occupational ideals. First, it was predicted that FCs who felt that qualities localized as internal to them would account for their relative success in reaching the ideal job, that these FCs would also tend to attribute their relative lack of competence in other valued areas to lack of practice or ambivalent commitment, whereas FCs who attributed their potential attainment or non-attainment of their ideal jobs to external factors (luck, reality limitations, fate) would tend to feel that they were not as competent as they would like to be in other areas because they lacked the natural talents or propensities. The results of this test, as depicted in Table 11.9, show that FCs who cite internal factors and behavior over which they feel they have some control as reasons why they might or might not get their ideal jobs, also tend to feel that they were responsible for and can alter the factors associating with their not performing up to their own standards in certain other areas of behavior.

TABLE 11.9

FC's Perception of Reasons for His Relative Inferiority in Valued Areas Vs Reasons Why He Might or Might Not Attain His Ideal Job

	FC's Perception of Reasons for His Inferiority in Abilities and Skills Re: the Average Boy His Age		
Reasons Why FC Could or Could Not Attain Ideal Job Choice	Practice, etc.	Natural	Total
Internal to FC	10	1	11
External to FC	2	5	7
Total	12	6	18

p level .025*

The second prediction was that focals who feel they have a chance to attain their ideal jobs would cite factors within their control (e.g., practice) in support of their optimism, while focals who felt they definitely could not attain their ideal job, or who had strong doubts to that effect, tended to attribute their pessimism to factors they could not control (temperament, luck, fate, reality restrictions). This prediction is confirmed in Table 11.10.

TABLE 11.10

Could FC Reach Job Ideal Vs Reasons Why He Might or Might Not Attain It

Reasons for Attaining or Not Attaining Ideal Job	Could FC Attain Ideal Job? No/Has Strong Doubts	Yes	Total
Internal	2	4	6
External	12	0	12
Total	14	4	18

p level .005**

Umbarger's Recent Work

Before summarizing the findings of the Time 1 Study, we will report on the results of an ancillary study which was sponsored by Pathways Project as part of our pilot research program. Umbarger's study, Black and White Fathers: Their Impact on the Idealized Models and Vocational Plans of Their Adolescent Sons (1069) attempted to determine the degree and kind of relationships between: 1). a boy's vocational aspirations and 2). his admiration for his father and other fictional or real persons (models). His sample consisted of black and white 17 and 18 year-old boys from intact working class families.

The data collected by Umbarger throws light on differences between whites and blacks on several variables crucial to the Pathways study: the contribution of race per se, and of intervening family variables, to differences on several outcome variables. Membership in a minority and dominated caste seems to predict differences along the following dimensions:

a) Identification and types of social power. It was hypothesized that blacks and whites would differ with regard to the availability (for purposes of identification) of four types of role models.

i. Data we have previously cited along with traditional concepts of occupational mobility and observations of available channels for mobility suggest that black teenagers will turn to entertainment figures more than whites when asked to list people they would like to emulate in regard to vocational preference. This prediction was verified (p=.005).

ii. Sports figures were seen as equally available to both blacks and whites, given the potency of adolescent admiration for athletic prowess. Such indeed was the case.

iii. Black people have not had easy access to the exercise of social power and vocational success via the avenue of politics; hence it was predicted that whites, more than Negroes, would select political models. This prediction was not supported, the data showing that political models were equally available to both groups. (This may suggest an interesting shift in the black adolescent's view of successful ways for entering the social system). White boys chose political models of national and world historical significance, while Negro boys generally selected local office-holders and politicians whom they actually had met.

iv. It was predicted that military figures, to the extent that one sees them as "hero" figures, would more likely be selected by whites than blacks. This directional prediction was confirmed at the .05 level of significance.

b) Inspiration for vocational aspirations: While the range of jobs that Negroes could aspire to and imagine holding is not necessarily limited by their race,* the sources for learning about these jobs could be predicted to vary significantly. In particular, the confinement of Negro males to a relatively narrow range of the occupational spectrum would make it difficult for Negro boys to first learn about their vocational choice through personal contact with someone in that field. Rather, they would be forced to draw their initial interest from more impersonal sources, such as through T.V., books, or results of aptitude test. This prediction was strongly supported, with significantly more whites becoming initially interested in jobs through personal contacts. (p =.01).

* Indeed, most of the relevant literature shows that at least with regard to aspirations, the differences are not so great between whites and blacks.

c) Paternal involvement in son's vocational aspirations: Judgments were made as to the appropriateness of each father's involvement in his son's plans to attain his vocational aspiration.

i. It was predicted that those fathers who were supportive of their sons in time of crisis would also be the fathers who were realistically and appropriately helpful in assisting the son to plan his vocational career. For the combined sample (both races) this prediction was confirmed.

ii. The second mediating variable of father-son relationships was that of the father's own work history. Ratings were made of the degree to which the father's work history had been felt, by both the son and father, to have been successful and to have provided the father with personal satisfactions. This predicted performance on one dimension, that of the degree of similarity between father and other models. That is, where the father's work history was jointly viewed as important to the father's own sense of worthwhileness and was presented as a source of esteem, then the son tended to pick models from his own reference group who were quite similar to the father in terms of personal traits. There was, however, a notable interracial split on this, with the correlation being quite strong for the whites, but nearly random for the Negroes. This was explained in terms of our assumption that occupational status would be a more important dimension and value for whites in measuring the worth of their fathers, than it would be for blacks (since a black man's occupational status is much less likely to be correlated with his performance and talent). The black subjects seemed to find other bases on which to admire their fathers and to pay relatively little attention to this particular aspect of father's participation in the wider work world.

iii. The third mediating variable proposed was that of the father's involvement in son's current vocational aspiration. This was an objective judgment made by raters determining the extent to which the father was involved, in realistic and appropriate ways, with his son's plans to attain his vocational aspiration. It predicted, for both whites and blacks, performance on two dimensions:

a) Father selected as model: Where the father's involvement was rated as realistic and helpful, the subjects tended to list the father as one of their models.

b) Status of vocational aspiration: All vocational aspirations were ranked according to the more recent preference ratings for jobs in the United States. As predicted, those subjects whose vocational aspirations placed them in the highest status brackets were those whose fathers rated highest on the appropriateness of their involvement in son's vocational planning.

CHAPTER 12

TRAVELS, AND TRAVELS IN FANTASY OF BLACK YOUTHS FROM LOW-INCOME BACKGROUNDS*

In an age when technological events are forcing man to expand his conceptions of space and travel and to consider his own spatial and geographic positions in relation to the accounts of astronauts who have journeyed to "outer space," it seems ironic that we have little or no systematic knowledge of the psychological significance of travel and the nature of attitudes toward a variety of places. Except for anecdotal material, we have little information on how travel interests and experiences are influenced by personal factors such as national or regional background, social class, or race. I mention these factors because they are of particular relevance to the analysis of data relevant to the travels and travel fantasies of the focal subjects.

The data used in this section, collected in 1967, are derived from the subjects' responses to some of the questions in the "Neighborhood, House and Travel" interview schedule. After responding to questions about their neighborhoods and housing, each subject was asked the following questions pertaining to travel:

1. Have you ever been to any cities or towns near Boston?
2. Have you been to some places outside of Massachusetts?
3. If you won a free trip to any place in the world, where would you like to go?
4. Can you think of some places where you would never want to live or even visit?

This chapter is based on subjects' responses to these questions. The tape recording of one FC's "Neighborhood, House and Travel" interview was stolen; therefore his responses could not be included in this analysis.

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* This chapter derives from a paper which was presented at the meetings of the New England Psychological Association in Boston (November 13, 1970).

Background

It has been assumed by some educators and planners that the travel experiences of poor urban black children and youths are extremely limited. It is thought that many of the children of Watts have never seen the Pacific Ocean and that many of the children of Harlem have not seen the Atlantic. Some have expressed the view that the environmental experiences of these children and their families are largely restricted to their own neighborhoods. We think--and our findings support our notion--that there is probably a considerable amount of variation in the travels of the population in question.

Occasionally cited in this connection is Hoggart's (1961) report of travels of English working-class males who only take occasional train trips to the funeral or wedding of some member of the family, forty or fifty miles away. "The speed and the extent of his travel are not much different from what they would have been thirty years ago. The car has not reduced distance for him. . . he will usually travel by bus if he has to travel, but the point is that he normally has to undertake very little travel except within a mile or two." However incomparable this report is to our study, in terms of its referring to a different country and culture with vastly different transportation and highway systems, different economic conditions, to a different age group, and so forth, Hoggart's findings seem worth mentioning.

Travel Experiences

Forty-eight of our sixty subjects responded to the question "Have you ever been to any cities or towns near Boston?" with the dames of neighboring suburbs, distant cities and towns within Massachusetts and resort areas on Cape Cod. Twelve subjects reported that they had not visited any places near Boston. It is important to note, however, that all twelve of these subjects had visited other states.

While some of the subjects had visited only one or two suburbs, a few had been to as many as eight or nine places in the Commonwealth. The array of cities and towns in the Boston area visited by our subjects includes several of the less affluent suburbs: Chelsea, Medford, Everett, Brockton, Charlestown, Cambridge, and Quincy; it includes a few upper-middle class suburbs such as Concord, Wellesley and Belmont, historical sites in Plymouth and Lexington, recreation and resort areas including seven references to Cape Cod. Their travels to the blue-collar suburbs were occasioned by visits to the homes of friends and relatives, participation in or attendance at scholastic athletic events, or commercial activities such as working or shopping. The few subjects who had been to the more affluent suburbs went as participants in educational enrichment programs or they went to visit relatives at work in suburban homes or to work there themselves. Unfortunately, we did not ask about their impressions of the settings in which they found themselves. It is important to find out what those visits contributed to their awareness of environmental alternatives and to their understanding of their relative socioeconomic and residential status and position. The recreational excursions to Cape Cod and state beaches were usually family-arranged events. We did not attempt to elicit their reactions to recreational settings, another line of inquiry which would have enriched our knowledge of environmental features salient for our subjects.

With regard to travels outside of Massachusetts (Table 12.1), six subjects indicated that they had never traveled to other states. Twenty-four of the subjects had visited only one or two states outside Massachusetts, while another thirty subjects had visited between three and a dozen places. Three of the subjects in the latter group mentioned Canada among the places they had visited. The single subject not yet accounted for had visited nineteen states, including Hawaii and three other Pacific Islands, Guam, Wake, and Midway Islands. His relatively extensive travels occurred when his family moved from place to place with his stepfather, a career man in the U. S. Navy.

TABLE 12.1

Subjects' Trips Outside Massachusetts

Number of Places Visited	f
0	5
1-2	24
3-4	18
5-6	7
7-8	2
9-10	2
11-12	1
:	
21-22	1
Total	60

Of the places visited outside of Massachusetts, New York was by far mentioned most frequently; thirty of the sixty youths reported that they had visited New York. Other states visited in the order of frequency, as shown in Table 12.2, are Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and so on. Other references (mentioned by six subjects or fewer) were distributed among the remaining states and the District of Columbia, except for sixteen states not visited by any of our subjects. These states are given in a footnote to Table 12.2.

TABLE 12.2

Places Visited

	f		f
New York	30	Tennessee	3
Pennsylvania	16	Virginia	3
New Jersey	15	Washington, D.C.	3
Rhode Island	13	Kentucky	2
New Hampshire	13	Arizona	1
Maine	11	Arkansas	1
Connecticut	10	Colorado	1
North Carolina	10	Kansas	1
Georgia	9	Louisiana	1
Alabama	7	New Mexico	1
Florida	6	North Dakota	1
Maryland	6	Texas	1
Michigan	6	West Virginia	1
Ohio	5	Guam	1
South Carolina	5	Hawaii	1
Illinois	4	Midway	1
California	3	Wake	1
Canada	3		

Alaska, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming were not mentioned as places visited.

Most of the trips to other states were for the purpose of visiting relatives and family friends. A few subjects were taken to New York by a teacher to visit the United Nations site. The visitors to Canada went to Expo or in one instance to visit relatives in Canada. Those who went to Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont were there for summer camp sessions.

We have uneven data on the following: modes of transportation used, whether subjects were accompanied or unaccompanied on their journeys, and the length of their visits. The evidence we have suggests that most of the subjects traveled by car or bus; a few mentioned traveling by train. It seems that they usually traveled with family members. Visits varied in length from overnight stays to spending an entire summer in one or two places. There is also a great deal of variability in subjects' ages at the time of their trips. In a more detailed study of travel, age at the time of travel should be examined in relation to the nature of the experience and recollections of places visited.

Travel Fantasies

The question, "If you won a free trip to any place in the world, where would you like to go?", yielded the mention of forty-four places within the continental United States and fifty-nine places abroad (Table 12.3). Included among the "abroad responses" are citations of Hawaii and an "around the world" response. Although most subjects answered with only one or two places, one subject cited as many as six. Combinations varied. The responses of some subjects encompassed places which seem provincial along with more exotic places. For example, one subject responded with Westminister, Maryland, on the one hand, and Paris on the other. Others chose places with characteristics in common: Tahiti and Jamaica appealed to one subject who described them both as pleasant, tropical sites.

The appeal of Hawaii must be attributed to its climate and its being regarded as a place where you "have fun." Subjects remarked that it is "warm and sunny there all the time," that you "don't have to worry about the weather," it has "nice weather," and "it's tropical." "It seems like it would be a lot of fun," said one boy. More specifically, one added that he likes the water and another said that he would like "surfing and boating" there. A reason given by another subject is that there are "lots of pretty girls" in Hawaii.

Of the fifty-nine citations of foreign places, twenty-one are European. Of those, France is most popular with our subjects, four of whom mentioned Paris and two others who simply listed France. There were three references to Italy and one to Rome. Other places mentioned are London, Spain, Portugal, and Norway. Two subjects said that they would like to go to Europe, while another replied "anyplace in Europe."

TABLE 12.3

Responses to "If You Won a Free Trip to Anyplace in the World, Where Would You Like to Go?"

Domestic Preferences
(Continental U. S. A.)

	f
Northeast	
New Hampshire	4
New York	3
Philadelphia	1
Cape Cod	1
Southeast	
Florida	6
North Carolina	1
Virginia	1
Westminster, Maryland	1
Savannah, Georgia	1
"Down South"	1
Southwest	
Las Vegas	4
Nevada	1
Texas	1
"Ranch in a place like Arizona"	1
"Out West"	1
Midwest	
Cleveland	1
Detroit	1
Illinois	1
West Coast	
California	12
Los Angeles	1

Preferences for Places Abroad

Europe	3
France	2
Paris	4
Italy	4
Rome	2
Spain	2
Portugal	1
England	1
London	1
Norway	1
Canada	3
Montreal	2
Africa	6
Egypt	1
Jerusalem	1
Hawaii	12
China	1
Japan	1
Australia	2
Tahiti	1
Jamaica	2
Bahamas	1
Expo '67 or World's Fair	4
"Around the World"	1

Don't Know	2

5

Their reasons for wanting to go to the places specified often reveal some of the factors which have influenced their choices. France is appealing to one youth who wants to "go talk to women" there. Another subject would like to go to Paris "to see what it's like." And another, perhaps influenced by the popular song, said "they say it's all right in the Spring and Fall." Still another wished to go "to Paris to see that building they have there that tips." (Did he mean the Eiffel Tower in a gale? Or perhaps the "leaning tower" of Pisa? This is an example of confusion of geographic detail.) Rome is attractive to one youth for the "monuments they have found and dug up of the Roman times" and to another who wants to see the "statues and things" that are there. Italy was mentioned for its food, its people, and its countryside. One youth would like to see how they make shoes in Italy. A subject said he would like to see Spain because he had studied about Columbus. He would take pictures "through Spain. . . see the people and talk to them, (see) how they're living and stuff." Another would choose Norway "cause they got fishing and that's where the Vikings come from, and I guess I'd like to go and see how they live and stuff like that" and Portugal because "I've never been there." London is of interest to a subject who had heard that there are a lot of singers there like the Beatles. He added that he would like to see the famous towers and "stuff like that," too. London was chosen by another subject who said, "I always wanted to see what the Mother Country of America was like."

Their attraction to Europe can be explained primarily through the emphasis on European geography and history presented in the public schools they have attended. One wonders if it has the personal significance for them as it has for American students visibly of European extraction. The subjects' positive sentiments toward Europe were summarized by one boy who said he wants to go to Europe "just cuz everybody said it's so nice."

In contrast to the marked preference for Europe, only six subjects said that they would like to go to Africa. (It should be remembered that the interviews were conducted in 1967; at that time an awareness of black nationalism and explorations of African origins were less prominent for the subjects than they are now.) References were to the continent rather than to specific countries in Africa. One twelve-year-old boy explained that he would like to see how people live in Africa. He added that "No white people try to run you over or nothing, they don't have a lot of white people living there" and that "they have a colored President." This is the sole instance of a subject's explicitly basing his attraction to a place on racial grounds.

Canada was chosen by four boys because of Expo '67. Another would go to Canada for this reason: "If you don't have enough food, you can go and catch something like a deer," an advantage which may not have occurred to a boy from a more affluent background. Scattered references to other foreign places include Australia ("Just for the country. Just the way the country is--not too many people living there;" "there's a lot of animals and stuff there, wild stuff"), Jamaica ("It's tropical" and "warm"), the Bahamas ("One of my friends went down and he brought back a lot of pictures, you know. He said it's the best place you could go for a vacation.") and China ("to see the geisha girls"--another example of confusion of detail).

While their reasons for selecting certain foreign places pertain to historical and cultural features, their reasons for choosing places in the United States are determined more often by personal preferences. This suggests that their sources of information about various places differ. It appears that their ideas about Europe and other foreign places are based on textbook information and formal instruction, while information about the United States is derived from mass media, their personal travel experiences and travel experiences of people they know.

Among the places in the United States to which some would like a free trip, California is the most popular and Florida ranks second. California is appealing in part because of the climate ("It's hot there;" "It never snows there;" "I want to see how it is in the cities where it never gets cold;") and, in part, because of the film industry ("I'd like to see a lot of movie stars." Another said he would "probably hang around some of the studios, you know, and get me a shine box. . . there's lots of business around there.") Like California, Florida is attractive to these Boston youths because of its warm climate and recreational features. ("They don't have snow down there and you can go swimming.") Nevada, particularly Las Vegas, offers the possibility of gambling. ("I'd like to win some money. I saw pictures in a book, you know, what Las Vegas was like. . . like it's a gambling city.") Four subjects wished to win a trip to New Hampshire; all but one of them had visited New Hampshire and liked it. ("Because it's quiet and you can go fishing and hunting there.") Another example of a subject who would like a free trip to a place he has visited is the youth who enjoyed a week of parties in the homes of relatives and friends in Westminister, Maryland, If he won a free trip he would like to revisit Westminister. Other references to places in the United States were distributed among cities and states in the Northeast, Midwest, Southwest, the West Coast, and the South. Those who would choose southern places other than Florida stated that they wanted to visit relatives living there.

Among the areas in the United States subjects designated as places they would "never want to live or even visit," southern states appeared most frequently (Table 12.4). Alabama and Mississippi lead the list. Their reasons pertain primarily to the treatment of blacks ("Whites kill people down there,") and to inter-racial conflict ("Cause actually they have so much riots going on down there it's worse than up here. I think that right up here is bad, but that is even worse. . .I don't like it up here so I know I wouldn't like it down there."). A few subjects referring to weather conditions said that places in the South are "too hot." Other places in the United States which were cited as undesirable are Detroit, California, East Boston ("Lots of people get killed there.") and Boston ("I have to live here, but I don't like it.").

Included among the foreign places the youths would not want to visit are Russia, Viet Nam, China, and Africa. Reasons for not wanting to visit Russia concerned restricted freedom ("No freedom over there I hear."); material scarcity (I just want to see what them people over there are missing."); and work with little reward ("I've heard all they do is work there; they don't do anything else," "The things they do seem all bad. . .you work for people and they give you what they think you deserve."). Explanations for not wanting to visit China concerned its population ("Half the world's population is over there. It's crowded." "All those people there."), stereotypes of customs ("I wouldn't want to sit on the floor all the time."), Sino-American relations ("They don't like Americans and they shoot you."), and food shortage ("You be hungry all the time over there."). Our subjects' statements about Russia and China echo the phraseology and content of propaganda about those countries which have reached them through the mass media all their lives.

The war, of course, was the major reason for preferring not to visit Viet Nam. A typical statement was, "There's a war going on and I'd probably end up getting killed." More succinctly, another respondent described Viet Nam as being "too deadly."

Africa is unappealing to subjects who dread the possibility of exposure to physical danger there. ("Lions might attack you and there might be some cannibals there to eat you up." "There's lots of wild animals there and you can get killed just by walking and looking at the scenery.") One youth expanded on his view of Africa: "There is one place I wouldn't like to go. That's Africa. . .where they have all them lions and them snakes and stuff running around. . .The upper, the civilized part of Africa I would like to go to, but not down there where it's not that much civilized yet."

Several subjects were unable to name places that they would rather not visit. They simply said that they could not think of any places in that category. This may reflect a willingness on the part of some subjects to go almost anywhere--at least once; or it may reflect a reluctance to make negative choices.

TABLE 12.4

Places Subjects "Never Want to Visit"

Domestic	f	Foreign	f
Alabama*	6	Russia	13
Mississippi	5	Viet Nam	10
Florida	2	China**	7
Tennessee	1	Africa	7
"Down South"	1	Alaska	4
California	1	Germany	3
Detroit	1	Cuba	2
Harlem	1	Japan	2
Boston	1	North Pole	2
East Boston	1	Antarctica	1
		Arctic	1
------------		Asia	1
Don't know or no response	13	Australia	1
		Hong Kong	1
		Yugoslavia	1

* One subject specified Birmingham.
** Two subjects specified "Red China."

Discussion

It was suggested that the travel experiences of poor urban black youths are extremely limited. Our findings, on the contrary, indicate a wide range of places visited in terms of number and distance from subjects' residences. There is also considerably variability in the places to which these subjects say they would choose to travel given an opportunity.

Patterns of travel and travel interests are not immediately evident in these data. For example, some subjects who had never traveled in the Greater Boston area had visited other states. Nor is there a clear-cut relationship between actual travels and travel fantasies. I had expected to find that when compared with subjects who had not traveled outside Massachusetts, those who had visited several states would fantasize about trips to distant and exotic lands. Indeed, the converse of that hypothesis seems equally valid. That is to say, one might have expected subjects with histories of little or no travel to fantasize about more remote lands. Neither is the case; there is little evidence of such a simplistic relationship. Other factors must be sought to account for fantasies about far away places and the wish to see them.

An examination of the fantasies about both desirable and undesirable places leads one to postulate that there are at least two attitudinal styles with regard to travel. Craik (1970) has characterized one style as place-oriented and the other as personalistic. The first type, according to Craik, responds primarily to the physical and cultural aspects of a place; the focus is on the place, its scenic qualities, social atmosphere, and so forth. The latter, a personalistic attitude, is expressed by those who seek places with a bearing upon their own identity or places where friends and relatives reside or have visited. An interest in the personalistic element in our subjects' fantasies drew our attention to the findings pertaining to Africa. That, in 1967, there were six subjects who said they would like a trip to Africa and four who said that they never want to go there is of considerable interest when viewed in terms of race, origins, and identity.

It is expected that the continent Africa and specific countries in Africa will be mentioned more frequently among places they would like to visit when we reinterview the same group of subjects (now three years older) during 1970-71. By now, more of them may have been exposed to the precepts of black nationalism and are aware of the relevance of Africa to their own lives and culture. The relationship between opinions of Africa and a sense of racial identity among these subjects will be explored in subsequent analyses.

"Travel broadens" is a cliche that persists. What types of travel experiences expand one's sense of self? In subsequent studies we should attempt to understand the ways in which travel experiences in varied settings are broadening. What roles and behaviors do individuals adopt in new places? With regard to our sample, what does it mean to visit places in which people are better off than they? Worse off? What do they learn about themselves in new places? Undoubtedly, travels to other neighborhoods and cities contribute to an understanding of one's relative socioeconomic position. The experience also increases one's psychological self-perspective and views of others. Data addressed to these issues are needed.

Generally speaking, the findings raise questions about the sources of the subjects' information about places, the development of geographic stereotypes and values which contribute to a positive or a negative view of a place. We have inferred that our subjects probably gained information about preferred foreign places from formal sources such as textbooks, while their notions about preferred places in the United States were probably formed by their personal experience, the experiences of relatives and friends and the mass media. Unfortunately, we did not inquire sufficiently into sources of information about each place mentioned. More information is needed about the media and materials these adolescents use as sources of information. Just what do they learn about geography and geopolitics through the mass media? In instances of inaccurate information about cultural and physical aspects of places (e.g., that Georgia and other southern states are within the boundaries of Massachusetts) it would be worthwhile to determine how the notions were acquired. What information is acquired through social studies curricula, family and peer "folklore?" Knowledge of their sources of geographic information would contribute to our understanding the process of learning elementary geography and ethnography and perhaps suggest some channels through which more accurate information might be conveyed, at least to youths similar in background to the group we are studying.

Of interest also are the places which the subjects did not mention either as desirable or undesirable. For instance, a number of states in the Midwest and Northwest seem unnoticed. It is worth noting that there was no reference at all to a city or country in Central or South America, a reflection of our North American hyperopia. There are only two references to places in the Middle East. There is no evidence of knowledge of specific black African nations and for a few subjects Europe and Asia also may be undifferentiated. Examples of confusion of geographic detail or inappropriate associations have been cited. Such errors and deficits in their knowledge provoke further questions about the teaching of geography and social studies in the United States and elsewhere.

Because our subjects are Bostonians, we were reminded of Cleveland Amory's description of the Proper Bostonian's provinciality ("basically he remains adamant in his lack of geographical curiosity outside the suburbs of Boston") and Daniel K. Wallingford's map of a "Bostonian's Idea of the United States" which, as described by Amory (1957), shows the Great Lakes "noted as fresh water" and under a large blank area marked "Western Prairies" appear the names of several Midwestern cities. We have wondered what our subjects and subjects from other populations would produce if asked to draw a map of the United States and what their maps of the world might reveal about their knowledge of the reality of the physical relationships between countries and cities as well as their mental arrangements of various places and distances separating them.

In conclusion, I wish to mention some areas for future study suggested by this research. The development of concepts of geographic areas should be studied more thoroughly. The extent to which occupation, income, education, and race differentially influence where individuals actually travel and wish to travel should be examined. How are travels and migration patterns related? The social and psychological consequences of travel or lack of travel for individuals should be explored. In addition to these issues, Wohwill (1970) has identified a number of environmental factors which should be studied in relation to vacationing, tourism, and other forms of travel.

Although this study has dealt with some of the more superficial aspects of the travel experiences of a relatively small sample of urban black youths, it has stimulated several problems for future research. We look forward to the studies which will deal with these and other issues relevant to psychological aspects of travel.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In understanding the project, its findings and conclusions, it should be remembered that our original intention was to do basic descriptive research which we viewed as necessary to the development of adequate methodology for further inquiry into developmental processes in black male adolescents. We also felt that such research could provide a background of knowledge to which the developers of educational and vocational programs might refer in order to get a better understanding of the diversity of a particular group of teenage black human beings and the world they lived in. Our concerns sometimes appeared more negative than positive; that is, we felt that some social scientists, educators, and public servants needed to be divested of their theories and fantasies regarding black youth in order to be able to think more clearly about them and develop more relevant programs affecting them.

An anecdote might point up this need. During the course of the research one of us interviewed many white teachers in the school whose students we were involved with. The interview for teachers sought historical material on the career, interests, and goals of the teacher, her or his general experience in the school, and reactions to specific students (who usually had mentioned that particular teacher). In the course of the interview one would often get a sense of the theory constructed by the teacher in order to explain problematical or successful performance by the student. In one particular case a teacher was asked to talk about two very different students. One, Albert, was a bright young ninth grader, comparatively studious for an athlete, whose marks were among the better of those in the sample; he was full of spirit, but not given to "hassle" his teachers unless provoked. The other, Mark, was also bright but "moody", unpredictable so far as the teacher was concerned. He usually didn't do his homework, nor did he seem to pay much attention in class. Usually he was clowning but occasionally he would surprise his teacher, when called upon, with an answer that was both lucid and correct or by asking a perceptive question. His test scores were usually poor, but, once or twice, excellent. The teacher, understandingly perplexed, was asked what he thought might be responsible for Mark's ups and downs in school. He replied without hesitation that, while he didn't know anything about Mark's home life, he suspected that the boy was responding to problems or deprivations at home, that he probably came from a father-absent home, had a mother who cared about him but who didn't have time to really relate to him and that he was turning to street life partially because of the lack of male identification models at home. Later in the course of the interview, the teacher was told that we were concerned about the relation of the youngsters' family lives to their lives in school and we wondered if he would speculate on Albert's family life. The teacher again made it clear that he had no experience with or information about Albert's parents. However he did have Albert's sister Cheryl in his homeroom last year. From his impression of both children, he concluded that they came from an intact and highly supportive family and that Albert must have, in his father, a male model who functioned to keep him involved in school, insisted on doing his homework, etc. Taking care not to embarrass the teacher, we then told him that, as far as the staff understood, the family situations of Mark and Albert were the reverse of his description: Albert came, in fact, from a father-absent household; his mother worked and was away from home much of the time. On the other hand, Mark came from an intact family; his father seemed concerned about his school work, and, so far as potential male models were concerned, he had two older brothers whom he admired and who had been considered good students. The teacher then went into a very perceptive discussion of teachers' need for greater contact with students' families, the urgency of obtaining better explanations of "inconsistent" or "problematic" behavior on the part of students, and the inadequacy of information obtained in the classroom. He said that he guessed what he called the "Moynihan theory" didn't apply to all his students, but felt at a loss in terms of alternative theories.

In the early stages of our teacher interviews, we were amazed at the pervasiveness of the use by teachers of inadequate social scientific theories of the relationships between family background and performance. Later, our surprise abated, when we realized what few cues were available from the behavior in school which could be directly observed by the teacher. Two important points emerged from this experience. First, that teachers, feeling overwhelmed and bewildered by school behavior which they cannot predict or understand, feel they must use the meager cues available and extrapolate from them to whatever developmental theories seem compelling and reducing of uncertainty and anxiety at the time. Regarding the second point, the adequacy of such theories is not at issue; nor can we tell, from the limited data at hand, how teachers translated their conceptualizations of students' behavior in terms of the "Moynihan thesis", as it was often designated, into actions affecting individual students. Rather, the most disturbing aspect of the situation was the way in which fantasies, or at times even accurate knowledge of the out of school experience of black children were often used by teachers to exclude, downgrade, and avoid the necessity of analyzing and understanding the classroom experience, the milieu for which they were largely, if not completely, responsible. We do not mean to denigrate problems faced by teachers in confronting the turbulence characterizing many of the inner city schools today. But we cannot afford to underestimate the need for teachers (and educators in general) to develop greater understanding of classroom dynamics (and to gain institutional support which will help them understand what goes on in the classroom), rather than for them to explain away behavior which may be quite rational in the immediate context of the school, in terms of non-specific, often inaccurately understood, often inadequate theoretical generalizations about the family life of the ghetto child and its inexorable effects on school performance. To the extent that educators, particularly white educators and policy makers, maintain mistaken and stereotypic fantasies of the homogeneity of the culture of the black poor and the nature of that culture, black children will continue to be abused by public authority.

Pathways project, from its inception, was more concerned with refining the conceptualization and operationalization of relevant variables, and with accumulating and analyzing data that would break down theories and fantasies about ghetto youth than it was oriented to making specific recommendations for program development. (Our findings involving family variables exemplify this concern.) We also wanted to examine methodological problems which we felt had been encountered in previous research, especially with regards to the assessment of demographic characteristics, school achievement and occupational aspirations. Aside from the discussion of these two issues, the methodological and conceptual, the research was not designed to yield findings that could be directly translatable into suggestions for program; what suggestions seem implicit in our findings and research experience will be offered at the end of this section. In this portion of the chapter we may also report from time to time data trends which have not been presented in tabular form or discussed in the body of the report, but we will not necessarily recapitulate all the findings which have been sketched in the summary that appears at the beginning of this report.

Conclusions Relevant to Research Methodology

There is in social science a long-standing bias against small sample open-ended interview or group-interaction research, not only because of the restricted generalizability of the results, but because researchers fear either that rigor and reliability will be sacrificed for the impressionistic summarization of anecdotal material or that the complex reality of people's experience will be distorted by its being crammed into the crudest categories which are necessary for the most modest attempts at systematic analysis. The result is often a capitulation to large sample survey design, the more "bang for a buck" justification for research design*, to

* One of the too few exceptions to this bias is the work of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, which has often achieved a successful "mix" of open-ended and fixed alternative methodologies in both large and sample research.

the exclusion of more intensive explorations of (relatively) spontaneous content and process, or else it is the case study, which often tantalizes but does not permit a level of analysis from which can flow operationalizations which can be helpful in future research.

If this report seems overly complex and the findings at times confusing, not only is our inarticulateness to blame but the fact that we have tried to impose a degree of structure on extremely complex materials while yet maintaining the integrity of the data. Our goal has been to achieve enough knowledge of the individuals in our sample that, for example, when examining a 2X2 or a 2X3 contingency table, we will have enough anecdotal knowledge and hunches available to be able to form hypotheses in order to explain why a particular individual or several individuals have ended up in a cell in which we would not have expected him or them to be found. We are, and we expect the reader will be, still disappointed at what is inevitably lost by our concentration on creating, coding and systematically analyzing specific variables. For example, the demands of the data analysis we've attempted has meant a postponement of the write-up of the case-study aspect of the project. We have also had to construct measures and indices where no adequate precedents could be found.

Nonetheless, some clear findings have emerged and some complex interactions have been obtained which we feel would not have been obtained had other designs been utilized. Although the instruments intentionally were not created with specific hypotheses in mind and with the conscious avoidance of the imposition of our own "projections" and expectations on the data through the use of possibly inappropriate preconceived analytic categories on obtained responses, a number of hypotheses after the pilot study was completed have been tested and either have been confirmed or disconfirmed; usually, the disconfirmations have been informative. If some of the findings seem contradictory, inconsistent or ambiguous, we feel this is as likely to be a function of the contradictions, inconsistencies and ambiguities experienced in the lives of the black youth we have worked with as it is due to the failure of our conceptualizations. The realities, are as always, not as neat as theory would have them, though patterns have emerged which seem worth thinking about.

Clearly, however much we tried to avoid imposing our preconceptions on the instruments, some selective process could not be profitably avoided. In general, and particularly with regard to the self-concept variables, it seemed more reasonable to look at the forms and dynamics of responses rather than their content (e.g., in the "initiator-reactor/can-can't change" distinction, and in the "can-can't change/practice-natural" categories). Associations were obtained which spanned instruments and content areas. The coding of variables most prone to variations of interpretation proved to be respectably reliable when independently coded by different judges and associations were obtained across different instruments and domains of content.

In the following sections we will be concerned with the implications of some of our findings and operationalizations of variables for research methodology and not for the development of change oriented program. The latter will be discussed separately at the end of this chapter.

Problems of Assessing Demography

The analysis of demographic variables has revealed a number of problems, some general, some probably specific to our sample (or samples of poor people from other groups) which researchers should take into account in formulating future research designs.

In general, there were many inconsistencies between the FCs' reports of parental demographic characteristics and reports from other sources usually assumed to be more authoritative, namely school records and interviews with parents. Sometimes the inconsistencies can be attributed to the students, at other times, to the authoritative sources.

Inconsistencies occurred also, for example, in the comparison of school records with students' recounting of their scholastic performance; even the apparently simple facts concerning their admission to and attendance at particular schools were subject to confusion. In several cases the official computerized school records were totally inaccurate in depicting where the student was in what semester, where he came from, to what school he transferred and why he received final marks in some subjects though he had dropped out in mid-semester. Usually only the student himself could provide a coherent picture of his "pilgrim's progress" through the schools, and there were many reasons for the students to be quite confused, given some of the red tape surrounding transfer from one school to another and the problems of being readmitted once a student had dropped out.

Regarding occupational variables, the correlation between FC's perception of his father's occupational status and the occupational status of the father as coded from the screening interviews we conducted with parents was only .47, a statistically significant correlation but one which does not account for enough variance to engender a great deal of confidence regarding the use by researchers of students' estimates of their fathers' occupations as the basic data in the assessment of the father's demographic status. We have cited, in the body of the report (particularly Chapter 11), several reasons for such inconsistencies. First, there is a tendency for sons to upgrade their fathers' occupational titles, partially because they want to think of their fathers as having better jobs than they do and partially because there is a great deal of confusion as to the distinctions among various similarly named jobs (e.g., "electrician", "electronics technician", "engineer") and much ambiguity about the nature of certain jobs. This source of inconsistency we would expect to obtain for students in general, across SES levels, but to be particularly strong for students from poor families. Secondly, the economic situations of many fathers forces them to hold more than one job. Often the son is unclear about how many jobs the father holds, and the importance of each job, both in terms of the contribution of wages obtained from a particular job to the family economy, and in terms of which job the father would use to define his vocation. Also, as we cited earlier, the father who is both a full-time cab driver and a part-time preacher may be classed by survey researchers as a cab driver but his occupational self-concept, his actual social status in his community, and the vocation he describes to others may all involve the role of preacher, exclusive or independent of his other job. Thirdly, the son or a mother who is on welfare may have good reasons to conceal from the researcher the pittance she may receive from other sources in order to survive, just as she may have to hide the same facts from the welfare bureaucracy. These last two reasons will, of course, less likely be found across SES levels than among the poor. But, on the basis of these considerations, we would caution our colleagues about assuming the accuracy of occupational and income data reported by children, particularly children whose socioeconomic situations make the perception and reporting of apparently simple "facts" a complex and sensitive matter.*

Another area in which data in much research has been, perhaps over-optimistically, reviewed as relatively straightforward is that of occupational aspirations. In Chapter 4, in the discussion of Hypothesis V, and later in Chapter 11, we suggested that one reason why many researchers had obtained what they felt to be "unrealistic" levels of occupational aspirations from samples of black youth was because, for many black teenagers (especially those in junior high school), the first job aspiration elicited by researchers might reflect occupational hopes rather than plans. The kinds of doubts spontaneously verbalized by many pilot subjects after giving a "first job choice" made us feel that many black youth have

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* Needless to say, whatever incongruencies may be apparent in the comparison of different sources of parental demography will be multiplied in the assessment of delinquency, although in the latter instance inaccuracies will most likely be found in the "official" statistics. (See Chamdliss, W. J., and R. H. Nagasawa, "On the Validity of Official Statistics: A Comparative Study of White, Black and Japanese High-School Boys", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, vol. 6, 1969, pp. 71-77.)

"contingency plans" that they expected to have to fall back on when (not if) their first choices did not "pan out". We are still unsure of to what extent this impression from the pilot interviews was borne out by the Time 1 data, but, on the basis of that experience, we asked for second job choices as well as the first. We learned that there were enough important distinctions obtained between first and second job choice to bring into question the meaning of the high aspiration levels for black youth which have been reported in previous studies, and to argue for the inclusion of second as well as first job choices in future research. We found, for example, that neither first nor ideal job choices were associated with father-related occupational variables (father's occupational status, job satisfaction, per capita family income) but that FC's second job choice (usually lower in SES level than first job choices) related to both father's occupation (as perceived by his son) and family income.

These and other findings highlight the importance of our recognizing the complexity of the task of assessing occupational aspirations for junior high school youth, and particularly for black young men. Job choices are as likely to be ad hoc responses to an interviewer as they are to represent considered plans. The quality of occupational information to which they have been exposed in school will be low, and unrelated to any sense of the actualities and possibilities of job attainment; that which is communicated by the media is apt to be mainly a "halo" which will produce a haze of confusion unless supplemented by other information, which is unavailable or hard come by. Occupational information coming from family members and acquaintances will depend on the experience and accessibility of working men, particularly the father. Conceptions of higher-level jobs will be poorly articulated and very different jobs with similar names or components will be confused (e.g., "engineering", "electronics", "data-processing", "draftsmanship"; various forms of "construction" and "mechanics" of all levels). Thus, it appears that the job choice responses exist as a result of an informational vacuum within the subculture.

Not only are there likely to be important differences between the meaning and correlates of first job choices, as we indicated above, but ideal job aspirations will have very divergent meanings for different individuals. In some cases, the ideal job specified by a boy will represent a viable aspiration, a vocation for which he feels himself suited and may, in some way, be preparing himself to struggle to attain. For others it will represent an empty hope or a wish he knows is clearly unattainable. And finally, for some, particularly those who select jobs we have referred to as "fantasy" ideals ("millionaire, wise man, President"), the ideal job nomination might be a mirror of frustration, a refuge from familial stress, a "get rich quick" dream which covers the dismal prospects which are known to await ghetto youth.

The above considerations suggest that occupational aspiration data for black youth should not be assumed to reflect a uniform level of occupational planning or knowledge on the part of the subjects, without reference to associations of that data with other contextual variables which could help the researcher distinguish among the variety of meanings such data could have. Among the contextual variables which we feel should be so considered on the basis of findings reported in Chapters 4, 6, and 11 are: demographic variables associated with parental occupation, education and income; subjects' perception of parental job satisfaction; and the parents' positive and negative job choices for their sons; subjects' first, second, ideal and negative job choices; the degree of accuracy and articulation of portrayal of first job choices; and the factors which influence the subjects' judgment of the attainability of ideal job choices.

Conceptual Implications

One of the major aims of the study was in the development of a number of variables which would more accurately reflect the complexity and diversity of family background factors and adolescent experience in the black ghetto. In this section we will be mainly concerned with sketching and stressing the importance of these clusters of variables, particularly in reference to demography, family structure, sense of effectiveness, and aspects of achievement on IQ tests.

The Heterogeneity of the Ghetto Subculture

Previous research has concentrated on inter-class rather than intra-class analysis, with the effect that artificial socio-economic distinctions between the classes have been perpetuated*, the ghetto family has been caricatured as uniformly pathogenic (unless it is manifestly oriented toward middle-class values), and intra-class differences such as we have observed have been masked.

Several writers have, however, steadfastly and persuasively maintained that (e.g., Powdermaker, 1939; Miller, 1958; Rodman, 1963; Drake, 1966; Parker and Kleiner, 1966; Rainwater, 1966; Lewis, 1967; and Hannerz, 1969, among others) the "Negro lower class" is

* For important discussions of this sort of social-scientific "tunnel vision", see in Ferman, L. A., J. L. Kornbluh, and A. Haber, Poverty in America, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1965: Miller, S. M., and Riessman, A. A. Seagull, "Poverty and Self-Indulgence: A Critique of the Non-Deferred Gratification Pattern", pp. 215-301, and Gans, H. J., "Subcultures and Class", pp. 302-310.

extremely heterogenous, especially with respect to demographic characteristics, and family and personal styles. Therefore, although our sample was "controlled for social class", we expected to find and did obtain important associations (described in Chapter 6) between parental education and occupational level on the one hand, and, on the other hand, aspects of FC's family life, self-concept, school performance (including achievement on IQ tests and dropping out), racial identity and occupational aspirations.

We have observed a slight tendency for demographic attributes of the mother to be associated with the facilitation of masculine identification, aspects of cognitive style, and verbal competence, while demographic attributes of the father have been associated with variables relevant to social status (attitudes toward educational and occupational achievement), group identity, and to spatial-analytical-manipulative competence as reflected in FC's achievements on the Performance subscale of the WAIS or WISC. We have also found (though with an N which was limited by coding problems) a strong association between father's low occupational SES and his son's "school defiance" behavior, suggesting support for the hypothesis that one of the bases of the son's resentment of the authority structure of the schools may well be his experience of his father's lack of occupational success and status in "the system". (The fact that there is a tendency for FCs whose fathers are lower in occupational status to have more positive relationships with their fathers, lends additional support to this hypothesis by suggesting that those FCs may identify more strongly with their fathers.) In addition, the sons both perceive their fathers as more dissatisfied with their work and have higher upward mobility strivings. How much these findings, particularly the association of paternal occupational SES with quality of FC's relationship with his father, are specific to this particular sample cannot be determined from available data. However, the linkage between father's SES and school defiance would be expected by Merton (1957) and other theorists.

The Complexity of Familial Variables

A review of the literature on the effects of family background factors on black youth has suggested what common sense strongly asserts, namely that there are few if any clear, uniform, pervasive and long-term effects of the fact of father-absence (or the lack of family intactness) on the development of children. We have endeavored to differentiate among variables relating to the fact of father-absence, the length of time the father has been gone from the home, frequency of contact with the absent father, and the quality of the son's relationship with his father whether his father is in or out of the house, and have sought to trace out the differential effects associated with each of these variables. Our basic approach has been to rely on the son's "experienced family" and his experience with family members and surrogates, whether that family or those significant other individuals actually occupied the same dwelling unit or only had a place in the mind and the feelings of the son (as when the son experiences an ongoing or constant relationahip with a father he rarely or never sees). Therefore we have defined the family in which the child lives as a context, a condition of his life space, rather than as a certain group of kinfolk occupying a particular geographical location, and have attempted to examine (very limited and crudely operationalized) aspects of the contributions of the individual parents, the extended family and the ambience of the family (as in quality of family life) on the experience, behavior and self-concept of the son. Of course we have not been able to definitively demonstrate the separate effects of these variables, nor do the methods of statistical analysis achieved at the time of the present report permit us to do so. However, we have found strong indications that this sort of conceptualization and operationalization of familial variables has been worthwhile, in pointing to important interactions of both global family and specific parental characteristics with attributes of the son and his behavior, and we would argue that future research designs could profitably employ similar distinctions.

The specific findings have been described in detail in Chapter 7 and are outlined in the Summary. For the purpose of this section we will only stress the fact that the failure to define familial variables in terms of the child's experience, and the emphasis on more superficial indices of family structure (such as father-absence), along with the attempt to predict general effects rather than complex interactions has tended to obscure or smother important effects.

For example, father-absence can be shown to have an effect on aspects of self-concept such as "initiation" but mainly when considered in interaction with birth order (and its assumed implications as to filial role, responsibilities and perquisites); father-presence has important relationships with school behavior (staying in or dropping out), but mainly for that group of "reactors" who feel they cannot improve performance in valued areas; father-presence and absence is associated with the son's tendency to get into fights outside of school, and with his perception of the possibility of his attaining his ideal job choice. Though father-absence is not associated directly with the perceived supportiveness of family, the quality of FC's relationship with his father is associated with family support, whether the father is in the house or not, and whether father-relevant material is included or excluded from the ratings of family supportiveness.

Although, as we explained in Chapter 7, variables relevant to FC's relationship with his mother were not as elaborately worked out or extensively tested as they should have been, quality of FC's relationship with his mother was significantly associated with: behavior mother most esteems in FC (i.e., whether she values FC's behavior when it is directly beneficial to him rather than to her), family support, quality of family life, and the "initiator-reactor" and "can/can't change" variables.

The Specificity of Sense of Effectiveness

Another important conceptual concern embodied in the formulation of this study was our assumption of the necessity for analyzing "sense of effectiveness" or "sense of control" into components reflecting sense of control in different content areas before invoking a general trait. In spite of Rotter's pioneering work (1966) in which he found no need for component "sense of internal-vs-external control of reinforcement" subscores, we felt that individuals not only experienced differential feelings of efficacy in different domains of behavior, but that the meaning to the individual of a feeling of "ineffectiveness" in a particular area could not be ascertained without reference to the salience of that area for the individual. For example an inability to attend to probabilities and a sense of incompetence regarding statistics may be felt by a man who plays poker for social pleasure, but it may not bother him if he derives pleasure from bluffing and especially if he has money to lose. On the other hand a cool headed poker player who expects to supplement his income by regularly beating the first kind of player must feel such competence or else end up a shaken and poorer man. Similarly, though managerial politicians such as Nixon or Brezhnev may lament their lack of Kennedy or Castro-style charisma, still wishing for the sort of adulation the latter received, we would expect that, in terms of self-concept and self-esteem, their standards of self-judgment would be localized in the criteria for assessing managerial competence.

We tried to handle the specificity of "sense of effectiveness" by constructing variables into which were already "built in" FC's own limitations on the specificity of behavioral areas and his attribution of salience or importance to one or more areas of behavior. Thus, the "can/can't change" distinction and the "practice/natural" and "learned/natural" variables only refer to FC's perceived (relative) competence or incompetence in areas he defines and designates as important to him. For example, we asked FC to indicate what things he could do much better than the average boy his age. In coding the reasons why he felt more or less competent than his peers, we used all the areas which the boy cited. But, in coding his sense of being able to change for the better or to maximize his effectiveness, we focussed only on areas of behavior in which he really wanted to change, whether he thought he could or not. This meant that the areas of competence salient to focals who were rated "can change" could be widely divergent: for some it might be school work, for others job performance, for others heterosexual relations or "style".

The modest confirmation received by Hypothesis VII showed that individuals would move to maximize or maintain performance in different areas central to them. The findings associating dropping out of school with the "can/can't change" distinction both alone and in interaction with the "initiator-reactor" dimension argue for the potential fruitfulness of operationalizing "sense of effectiveness" in a manner specific to each individual.

Two other methodological issues were raised by findings relevant to sense of control which we have earlier cited. First, the association between dropping out with FCs' feelings that they can change for the better in valued areas suggests that, for some boys, dropping out may be an assertion of "fate control" and the judgment that "hanging in" school is not the way to excercise that control. Second, this association therefore suggests that one possible explanation for Coleman's findings that black students scored less on "fate control" variables than whites, could involve "high control" black students dropping out of school while "low control" students might stay in and give "low control" responses to the researchers.

Demographic and "Relational" Correlates of IQ Performance

We still have work to do in understanding the correlates and meanings of scores obtained on the WAIS and WISC tests which were administered to 80% of the focals. However there were general indications that IQ scores varied with aspects of demography, familial relationships and self-concept. To briefly sketch a few of these findings: Verbal IQ was positively associated with mother's occupational level, while Performance IQ was associated positively with father's educational level (See Chapter 6). An argument could be mounted to the effect that fathers who dropped out were less bright than those who stayed in school and that their (hereditary) lack of intelligence was passed on to their sons. However, such an argument would fly in the face of both the literature and our findings relevant to dropping out which show no significant association between dropping out and IQ. It would be even more difficult to maintain that the occupational level attained by the mothers in our sample was a function of their intelligence.

In Chapter 7 we described the association of the "performance-over-verbal" variable with "quality of FC's relationship with father" and in Chapter 8 we discussed the significant differences in means on IQ subscale scores which were associated with the "reactive can/can't change" dimension. In view of these findings, we would strongly suggest that future research could benefit from further explanation of the interactions between achievement on IQ tests and demographic variables which are unlikely to reflect hereditarily transferable aspects of intelligence, as well as between IQ and familial and self-concept variables.

Implications for Program

The findings most relevant to the development of educational program are those concerned with factors predictive of or associated with staying in or dropping out of school (treated in Chapters 10 and 8).

A stepwise discriminant analysis enabled us to predict 83.7% of the dropouts as of June, 1969. Since, at that time, members of the original seventh grade sample were still in school who have since dropped out or who will probably drop out as of this writing (with two years to complete before graduation) we expect the percentage of cases successfully predicted will rise as we get more complete data. Although the discriminant analysis isolates five variables which are maximally effective predictors ("can/can't change", "composite self-concept", number of close males, number of siblings, total "hot water"), the inadvisability of utilizing variables with substantially diminshed Ns may not give us a fair picture of the most powerful combinations of variables.

For ideological reasons and on the basis of experience with black dropouts in community organizations and in programs such as Upward Bound, we thought that a substantial portion of the dropouts might turn out to comprise the "elite" of the sample--bright teenagers who couldn't stand the school system because they found it irrelevant and had more what Walter Miller refers to (1958) as "hustling intelligence".

This expectation, while partially confirmed, was romantic and overly simple. The group of dropouts is perhaps more heterogeneous than the stay-ins. Their most frequently shared characteristic is a sense that they can change to improve performance in valued areas of competence, that they can change for the better; however they do not tend to localize their major areas of competence as being in school-related areas. At the same time they are no higher in "school defiance" than the stay-ins (though they do tend more frequently to get into trouble out of school).

There are hints that many of the dropouts may get better grades, initially, than the bulk of the stay-ins: in the first year for which grades were obtained (1967) the dropouts started out with slightly higher grades, then they either dropped out or the grades progressively deteriorated each year. When we examine the three years of school records which constitute the academic performance data for the Time 1 study, we see that the dropouts and those who are doing poorly in school tend to be higher in racial identity and in sense of effectiveness than those who stay in.

We don't know enough at this point to suggest with much confidence that there is a causal relationship between high racial identity and poor school performance, but there are indications that the sense of alienation from the values and the kinds of performance cherished by the school is exacerbated in those focals with positive racial identity.

The fact that the dropouts feel they can change for the better, that they may have a higher degree of "fate control" than the most homogeneous group of stay-ins, the "reactor/can't change" focals, should not be taken to mean that they are highly organized in the pursuit of goals that can be best attained out of school. Some of them, as indicated in the interview material obtained on those dropouts who localized their competence in work-areas (Hypothesis VII) did seem to have a clear idea of what they wanted to do, and a sense, however inarticulate, of how to reach their goals. But most of the other dropouts were, in fact, at sea. They could not channel the talents, energies, and potentialities which they perceive in themselves into paths which demonstrably led to any clearly delineated goals, because such paths generally do not exist nor do many occupational opportunities exist which are not dead-end jobs On the basis of Time 2 data we know that a few of the dropouts have managed to find special educational programs outside the public schools. In one of these cases, the student did well only to have the program cancelled so that his dropping out was not a result of his decision or his performance. Several of the dropouts have become politicized and have found some degree of satisfaction in community organizational work, usually for militant groups such as the Panthers and the Freedom Security Patrol.

Those who stay in can be roughly divided into two groups: one group seems to use school with a clear sense of instrumentality, feeling themselves to be effective persons and, regardless of what they feel about school, viewing graduation as a means to an end, and the knowledge achieved or wrenched out along the way is often spoken of almost as additional armamentaria for the struggle ahead. The other group, more homogeneous, we have designated as the "reactor/can't change group". The focals in this group are much more "uptight" than any of the others in the sample. They seem to use school as a refuge, because they perceive no other more satisfactory alternative. They tend to be more passive in general, more pessimistic about their capacities for constructive change, to be more obedient (in spite of the fact they are as sensitive to the inequities and lack of coherence of the school experience as are their classmates), less likely to engage in behavior viewed as "problematic" or "deviant" by institutional or familial authorities, and they perceive teachers as having higher academic expectations for them than do the dropouts. It is important to recall that, though they may be pessimistic about their achievement in more personal spheres of competency, they seem to be more optimistic regarding their chances for success within the American opportunity structure.

Along with the association of dropping out and variables relevant to sense of control or effectiveness (the "can change" variable in particular), we have previously discussed other characteristics of a substantial subgroup of the dropouts, the "reactive can/change" group: on an intra-individual basis they are significantly more likely to have Performance subscale IQ scores which are higher than Verbal; and, in an inter-group comparison (with the "reactive/can't change" group) they tend to have higher Performance scores and significantly lower Verbal scores.

These findings seem to us particularly important for the development of educational programs. We are not saying anything new when we maintain that the schools reward obedience, conformity and adherence to socially-structured paths of mobility. Beyond such observations, the data indicate that intellectual skills related to Performance IQ are undervalued by the schools and that students have only limited and stereotypic opportunities to express, increase, and be rewarded for such skills (particularly when it reflects "convergent" rather than "divergent" thinking). Verbal achievement is a prerequisite for system-success and is generally esteemed and rewarded in the school, so long as it is accompanied by docility. Coleman and others have suggested that verbal achievement may be, especially for the black student, one of the strongest indices of socialization into the dominant culture. In referring to the "limited and stereotypic" opportunities available for the exercise of spatial-analytic-manipulative skills, we mean that our experience has been that a student with such skills, especially if he is less well socialized (i.e., less conformist), perhaps less verbally adept, is apt to be directed into courses in shop, art, and mechanical drawing, none of which are structured to maximally utilize or contribute to the development of skills which require as high a level of abstraction and conceptual, though non-verbal, thinking as any of the skills associated with high performance on the Verbal IQ subscale.

It would seem as though one of the major intellectual competencies underlying achievement on the Performance subscale would be a capacity for conceptualizing relationships which is quite compatible with the sort of analytical thinking important to the learning of mathematics, but there has been, to our knowledge, no mathematics curricula available to these youngsters which would aid in the translation of such non-verbal "relational-analytic" abilities into mathematical competence. This may be no fault of the schools; our sense is that not even the "new math" courses currently on the market adequately meet the need for this sort of translation, although more progress is being made in the development of process-oriented basic science curricula which may, directly or indirectly, confront this problem.

At any rate, the boys drop out, often not knowing how bright they are, and often knowing only that they have enough to make it into some form of skilled labor, if they can figure out (on their own) how to "break in" to such a job. Their sense of "control" may have led them to conclude that their chances of getting what they want out of school are more promising than the probabilities of growth or satisfaction offered by the school.

Not only are the schools currently not competent to recognize and encourage non-verbal skills, but for reasons we have indicated in Chapter 11, the vocational guidance or counseling function is not organized to aid students with those skills to go on to capitalize on their talents, either in selecting high schools or in receiving training or schooling after high school.

A Brief Digression on the Attitudes of the Boys in the Sample Towards School

We expected initially that the focals would dislike school and our general impression of the data was that only a miniscule fraction of the FCs expressed any genuine liking for or appreciation of school. Some, when questioned about their feelings towards school replied that they weren't sure what they would do with their time or where they would go if they didn't have school to come to. These, as one might expect, were often boys who were not attracted by street life, who were afraid that they might fall into bad company, get into trouble and end up drug addicts, dead, or in jail. The majority of boys, while having no perceptible positive feelings about school, stressed the necessity of having a high school diploma in order to get a job. They did not know that, according to U.S. Census figures, for black teenagers, the probability of unemployment after high school graduation was no less than for high school dropouts. Another, much smaller group, seemed to justify staying in school in order to avoid the trauma of job-hunting and the premature foreclosure of occupational possibilities.

Only 4 of the 61 focals indicated, not always overtly, that they felt school would make no difference at all in their later lives, occupational or social. None of the dropouts, however much they felt hurt, bewildered, or alienated by their school experience, doubted the importance of school for later achievement. Whether dropout or stay-in, all of the students were caught in the snag-tooth trap of the myth of equal opportunity: school provides the means for attaining a good job and achieving social mobility [but school does not, in fact, do that for the black graduate with any of the power with which it performs for the white (See Duncan and Duncan, 1969, for example)]: higher education, similarly, is said to provide greater opportunities, but their chances of going on to college are infinitesimal with the background they have received, the funds at their disposal, and the absence of persons who can actively facilitate their matriculation.

Many teachers who were interviewed also could give no positive reasons why their students stayed in school. Though they often showed great sensitivity to those aspects of the school experience which might prompt a student to contemplate dropping out, this sensitivity was overpowered by the practical concern with the disorder of the classroom and the corridor.

Several teachers independently advanced social reasons as the only "positive" basis for particular students' decision to stay in school: the students enjoyed "cutting up" with their buddies, it was thought. However, this did not jibe at all with students' interviews. The students who would have most fit these teachers' descriptions tended to prefer socializing through hooking and street "running" away from school. The few students who valued school because they could socialize there were isolated and withdrawn youngsters who had no friends outside of school and hardly interacted with their classmates during school hours. Even the roughest boys, those who were classified by both teachers and fellow students as among "the worst trouble makers" and who might have been expected to enjoy expressing themselves through creating chaos in the schools, were equally upset by the fact that the teachers were frightened and intimidated by them, by the knowledge that they really "ran" the school and ran it "ragged".

Our sense was that the turmoil in the school had been intensified by the anxiety on the part of students that nothing valuable was happening there, nothing which could lead to greater security or opportunity, and also by a sense of fatalism, shared by many of the teachers, that the school was going downhill, that it would get worse and worse until finally a student or teacher would die in the hallways or until the school itself burned down. The only adequate reference which seems to reflect these feelings is to Poe's "Fall of the House of Usher"; the school was viewed as malignant and doomed; some of its transient residents spoke similarly of themselves.

All the students, however, seemed to want peace and quiet at the very least; they wanted the police out of the school. Though most of the students had (in the year of the interview or the previous year) a favorite teacher who seemed to care about them, and whose teaching methods frequently involved them in the process of learning, there was no feeling of the cumulative and transferable results of such beneficial experience. The global impression we received from the students were of rigid teaching methods (even on the part of teachers whom we felt were dedicated), a preponderance of teachers who seemed at a loss as to what to do and either yielded to "student power" by trying to distract the students with seductive material they would try to convince themselves was "relevant" or who put on a "front" of composure but actually spent most of their time disciplining and threatening the "worst offenders". Another impression given by many students was that the teaching process, as practiced by some teachers, was like a warped long-playing record which would just drone on, in spite of cacophany, dissonance, static and an occasional wastebasket conflagration.

The students generally did not indict the structure of the public school experience unless they had been politicized and therefore sensitized to recognize the systemic causes of these problems.

Above all, the boys expressed the need for teachers who were at once compassionate and strict, who wouldn't "let them get away with everything", who would not exercise arbitrary authority or humiliate individuals in front of their classmates, but who were capable of giving individual attention when needed, who would allow them to "slip up" from time to time ("lose" their homework, "mess up on a test", etc.) and who would give them a second chance.

Unfortunately, teacher training has in the past sent white novice teachers into black schools, teachers who have been filled with compassion and a sense of how blacks have been brutalized by their tenure in this country, but who have not appreciated the need for strength and "structured flexibility", for unambiguous standards of achievement, rather than indiscriminate praising of black students (on the mistaken assumption such indiscriminate praise will enhance their, assumedly, paltry self-esteem) and clear criteria for the administration of justice in the classroom.

Teaching the Real Probabilities Rather than the Myths

Perhaps the greatest need we see for the revision of public school programs for black students is for clarifying and strengthening the counseling function, breaking down the black barriers between guidance staff on the one hand, teachers and administration on the other, and in the development of all curricula necessarily involving persons from the black community who are familiar with the actual probabilities and possibilities for self-actualization and the realization of group aspirations (e.g., goals of the black community) which ghetto youngsters are facing and will face once they are out of school (whether they have graduated or have dropped out).

The latter point is particularly important because the institutions and media of the general culture constantly hoax the black adolescent with false hopes and misleading assertions of equal opportunity when it does not exist, even by official U.S. government statistics. As we stated in Chapter 11, the schools play an unwitting partner in that hoax by continuing to promulgate the myth of equal opportunity, the myth that "anyone can make it if he only graduates high school and works hard enough". Even worse, the schools do not acquaint the black student with the actuarial statistics of success and mobility in the white world, and fail to prepare him to take advantage of what opportunities do exist. In addition, the schools fail to provide him with experienced counselors who can both help him to clarify his goals and advise him as to how to achieve them. And, at the very least they fail to give him the tools necessary to make a realistic analysis of opportunities which exist, which could be created, or to appraise the steps necessary to take advantage of such opportunities.

It is as though an army were being trained to go into combat, not only with inadequate weaponry and training, but where the commanding officer consciously refused (for fear of damaging the morale of his men) to apprise his men that they are going to have to cross a mine field, under heavy bombardment, towards an objective which is only assumed to exist, and without a map to guide them when the survivors discover that the objective was either non-existent or its location unknown. The men, of course, will be decimated.

We have seen in our small sample an imposing "body count"--a dropout rate of close to 50%, with some students who are still in school having two to three years left in which to drop out. We have seen some go to prison, others become drug hustlers or addicts who must manage to steal five to seven hundred dollars per week to support their habits.

Several years ago we proposed to a predominantly black group of teachers that it was almost criminally irresponsible to give black school children (or any other tint of student) false hopes. (This is not to say that false hope or idealism that flies in the face of reality is not functional in some circumstances.) The teachers' anger at this comment mainly centered on the very real fact that the aspirations and hopes of their black students were already too low, and the fear that telling the students what a struggle they could depend on having once they left school would further depress their aspirations, blunt their ambition and sap their "motivational level".

It was our assumption then, an assumption now reinforced by the findings of the present study, that the perception of the opportunity system as relatively closed to blacks would not have such effects. It was felt that a realistic understanding of the school and economic facts of life which obtain for blacks in a white world, could only strengthen the ability of black youth to locate opportunities, create them or band together to pressure for increased and meaningful options. We found, first, that there were no significant associations between perception of the "opportunity system as closed" to blacks and dropping out, school grades, conduct, or educational or occupational aspirations. To the contrary, we found a tendency for boys with low racial identity who viewed the system as closed to stay in school. It is important here to stress the nature of the associations which were found and detailed in the discussion of Hypothesis IV in Chapter 4. FCs who are low in racial identity are less likely to express "willingness to move in the white world" than those who are high in racial identity. Although there was no direct association between either "system open-closed" and "willingness to move in the white world" or between "(combined) racial identity" and "system open-closed", we found that FCs with high racial identity who saw the system as closed tended to feel more "willing to move in the white world" while those FCs with low racial identity who saw the system as closed tended to feel apprehensive about "moving in the white world" and rejected that sort of mobility.

The implication of these findings is, we believe, that knowledge of the limitations on the entry of blacks into the opportunity structure and knowledge of the structured or "institutional" racism of the society need not dampen the ambition, resolve, courage, (or opportunism), of black youth so long as they have a strong and positive sense of black identity.

In the introduction to Chapter 9, which described findings relevant to racial awareness, we spoke of the degree to which the mystique of the equipotentiality of all Americans, regardless of class or ethnic origins or previous historical or personal success, for the achievement of ever-cumulating successes in several fields, sequentially or simultaneously, renders all Americans vulnerable to powerful self-indictments following the perception of their unrealized potentialities. (And this can be true even if one intellectually realizes the extent to which the realization of his ambitions is restricted by accidental and systemic factors over which he can have no control; it is still his fault if he doesn't make it because the society will point out for him a dozen other men who apparently had suffered the same limitations, yet triumphed over them.)

For all these reasons, and especially in order to decrease the "body count" of black youth who have been "hustled" into a myth, officially promulgated as a "possible dream", that can destroy them (by depriving them of the means to realize that dream), it is imperative that the public education of black youth should not only include an accurate portrayal of Afro-American history and gripping roleplays involving slaves and masters, police and militants, but that it should spell out the following factors in compelling detail: the probabilities that exist for blacks at this time, why they exist while other probabilities do not, what possibilities could be created and how to help create them, and what traps are waiting for them in the white world and the quick sand of the ghetto. Otherwise we are simply continuing to send them across the mine field.

And, lest this picture make them abandon all resolve, we must find ways of legitimizing the growth of positive black identity within the educational process. As we have said, the bulk of young blacks who have managed to achieve positive black identities in this study, do not do well in the school system; they see their teachers as having low expectations of their school achievement; their grades deteriorate; they tend to drop out, however bright they may be. Considering the entire sample, we find that the more a black young man knows about black history and contemporary issues, the more likely he is to feel (i.e., perceive) that the opportunity structure is relatively closed to blacks. This means that the schools which now have no alternative but to include such topics in new curricula, cannot hope to expose black students to the facts or the analysis of their past and current situation without facilitating their students' realization of the extent to which blacks have been exploited, crushed and their talents permitted to atrophy by white society. In other words, there is good reason to believe that if the schools teach blacks (or any other group) the historical and current facts about socio-economic opportunity in the United States and its vicissitudes, they will also be intentionally or unintentionally encouraging their students to challenge head-on the country's deteriorating mythology, particularly the myth of equal opportunity.

This argument is not to be taken as an expression of cynicism: if such challenges are going to occur, and they must occur if the nation is ever to become healthy for its citizenry and re-develop a sense of common purpose, then they ought to be anticipated and legitimized in a fearless, vigorous and constructive way; not co-opted, but utilized to stimulate the seeking of solutions to our acute and chronic problems. And if such challenges are going to occur, something positive must be provided as not just a cushion against the loss, but as a platform from which to reconstruct individual, group and national aspirations. That "something" can't merely be a "boost" in racial identity or a placebo to nurture the self-esteem and sense of effectiveness of black youth but must include a knowledge of means for the achievement of individual and community goals. In a sense, those boys who have high racial identity, who perceive the system as closed, but who still are willing to move in the white world, those boys are trying to accomplish these goals, but on their own, with no direction and no support, only institutional unresponsiveness and fear and harrassment on the part of authorities. And it is still a "white world" in which they must move, a world in which no matter how much they rise, whites are rising higher and faster, and no matter how much whites may fall, they will fall faster and lower, so that the political and economic structure of the society, regardless of our verbalized ideals, consigns blacks onto a perpetual under class status.

APPENDIX A: BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

APPENDIX C: CODEBOOK

APPENDIX D: INTERCORRELATION MATRIX

APPENDIX A

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ADDENDUM TO APPENDIX A

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Pathways Project
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GENERAL INFORMATION SHEET

Focal Child Interview

1. What is your full name?
   Do you have any nicknames?

2. When were you born?
   How old are you now?
   Where were you born?

3. Where do you live? (Street Address)

4. Do you have a phone? (If yes, ask for number. If no, Is there a phone number at which your family can be reached?)

5. How long have you lived at (address given)?

6. Where did you live before that?
   Why did you move? (Explore what happened)
   Where did you live before that?
   (Continue to inquire until S seems to have recalled all the places he has lived).

7. Have you ever lived away from your family?
   (If yes) When was that?

Health

8. Have you ever spent any time in a hospital?
   (If yes) How long?
   How old were you then?
   What were you in the hospital for?

9. Have you had any serious diseases or illnesses?

10. Have you ever had an operation?
    (If yes) Will you tell me about it?

11. Have you ever been hurt in an accident? If so, what happened?

12. Do you think you are small or large for your age or just about average?

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9 (2)

PRESENT FAMILY

Focal Child Interview

1. Can you tell me something about each person who lives in your house, starting with the oldest person?
   Give me their names, ages, and tell me something about them.
   Does anybody else live there--anybody who is not related to you?

2. Do you have any brothers or sisters who don't live at your house?
   If yes: What are their names and ages and tell me something about them.
   How often do you see them, and where do you usually see them?
   Do you have any brothers or sisters who are dead? Ask for names.
   How old was your brother (sister) when he (she) died?
   How old were you then?

3. (a) If father or mother is not mentioned in response to 1. ask this question:
   What is your father's (mother's) name?
   Is he (she) living?
   If parent is dead, continue with 3(b).
   Where does he (she) live?
   How old is he (she)?
   Tell me something about him (her).
   How often do you see him (her) and where do you usually see him (her)?
   What do you do when you and he (she) get together?

   (b) When did he (she) die?
   What did he (she) die of?
   What do you remember about him (her)?
   When people in your family talk about him (her) now, what kinds of things do they recall?
   Where was he (she) living before his (her) death?

4. (a) Are your grandparents living? Ask about the living:
   Tell me their names, about how old they are, and something about them.
   Where do they live?
   How often do you see them?

   (b) If any grandparents have died, ask:
   What do you know about or remember about your grandparents who died?

5. (a) Do you have a favorite uncle or aunt or other relative?
   If yes: Tell me something about him (her).
   What do you like about him (her)?
   How often do you see him (her)?
   What do you do when you are with him (her)?
   Have you ever lived in the same house?
   Has he (she) ever helped in raising you or taking care of you?
   If yes: In what way?

5.(b) Have you an uncle or aunt or other relative that you don't like very much
or don't like to be around?
If yes: Tell me something about him (her)?
What is it you don't like about him (her)?
How often do you see him (her)?
What do you do when you are with him (her)?
Have you ever lived in the same house?
Has he (she) ever helped in raising you or taking care of you?
If yes: In what way?

(c) Do you know any of your other relatives very well?
If yes: Who are they and how are they related to you?
How often do you see them?
What do you do when you are together?

6. Who in your family are you most like?

7. In what ways are you like your mother?
In what ways are you different from your mother?

8. If child has or remembers his father:
In what ways are you like your father?
In what ways are you different from your father?

9. If child says he is most like someone other than his mother or father, ask:
Who are you most like--your mother or father?
If he mentions physical resemblance only, ask:
What about in personality--who are you most like?

10. Who in your family would you most want to be like?

11. Of all the men you know, who do you feel the closest to now?
(Probe: How often do you see him? What do you do together?
Why do you feel close to him?)

12. When you were younger, who took care of you most of the time?
How old were you then?
What are some of the things he (she) did for you?
Was there anyone that took care of you after that?
When did __________ start taking care of you?

13. (a) When you were younger, who was most likely to get after you or punish you?
What kinds of things do you remember being punished or scolded for?
How were you punished?
What did he (she) say when you were being scolded?

(b) Who is it who gets after you or punishes you now?
What kinds of things does he (she) get after you about?
What does he (she) say?
How areyou punished now?
What happens after that?

14. What things do you do that your mother likes most?
Is there something else you do that she likes a lot?
How does she show that she likes it (those things)?
Repeat question for father and/or mother or father surrogate.

15. When you were younger who seemed to love or care about you most?
How did he (she) show it?
When was this?
Who would you say likes or loves you most now?
How does he (she) show it?
Who is it you like or care about the most? Why?

16. Ask for each important adult the following questions:
How do you get along with (person discussed above) in general?
What kinds of things do you and she agree about?
What kinds of things do you and she disagree about?
What do you like most about her?
Is there any way that you wish she would be different?
Would you say you get along with her better than or worse than your brothers and sisters? Can you explain this?
Is there a particular child she seems to favor?
If yes: Which one and what makes you think so?
Do your other brothers and sisters know that he (or she; i.e., the sibling mentioned) is favored?
What do they think about it?

17. If child has siblings of both sexes, then ask:
Are boys and girls treated differently in your family?
If yes: In what ways? By whom?
Ask if child has brothers only or brothers and sisters.
Are you treated differently from your brothers sometimes?
If yes: In what ways? By whom?

18. Ask if child remembers a time when his parents lived together.
Rephrase to ask about mother's relationship with stepfather or regular boyfriend.
How do (did) your parents get along with each other generally?
All parents disagree sometimes. What kinds of things do (did) your parents disagree about most often?
Give an example of one disagreement and what happened?
What kinds of things make your mother upset or angry?
What kinds of things make your father (or appropriate male) upset or angry?

19. How do you get along with your brothers and sisters?
Ask specifically about each one.
Which one of them do you talk with or do things with most?
How come?
Which one do you talk with least and don't do many things with?
How come?

Which one do you like best? Why?
Which one do you like least? Why?
Which of your brothers and sisters get along best with each other? How come?
Which ones have the most arguments or fights?
What causes it?
What usually happens after they argue or fight?
Is there any way you think each one would like you to be different?

20. Ask with regard to each family member:
When you get into an argument or fight with __________, what is it usually about?
How does it start?
Who is on your side and who is on his (her) side?
How does it usually end?

21. Who makes most of the decisions in your family?
What kinds of things does she (he) have to make decisions about?
Does he (she) talk about it with other people in the family?
If yes: With whom?
Give an example of something he (she, they) had to make a decision about.

22. Who handles the money in your family? What things does __________ have to spend money for?
Where does the money come from?
Tell me about a time when there wasn't enough money for something.
Who argues about money in your family?
Who says what in those arguments?

23. Now I would like to get an idea of what life is generally like in your family.
Tell me everything that you can remember about what you and everybody else did yesterday (or most recent weekday)?
Try to account for the activities of everybody. If others (i.e., non-family) are mentioned, inquire about their activities. Try to find out about the nature of conversations as well as what each person did.

(a) What was the best time you ever had with your family? The worst?
(b) What was the best time you ever had with your father? The worst?
Ask the same questions about other important male.
(c) What did you and everybody else do last Christmas Eve and Christmas Day? Who was there? How did you feel about your family?
(d) What was the best Christmas you ever had?
(e) What did you and everybody else do last Sunday (or "yesterday," if interview is on Monday)? Probe as suggested above.

24. I am going to ask you about some events or incidents. Tell me what happens in your family when such things occur.
If it is something that hasn't actually happened in your family, tell me what your family would probably do if it should happen.

WHAT HAPPENS....

(a) When somebody has to go to school to see a teacher or the principal about you?
(b) When you ask for money?
(c) When you get sick or just aren't feeling good?
(d) When your mother is sick?
(e) When somebody else in the family is sick?
(f) When you bring home a good report card? Probe for actions of important grown-ups.
(g) When you bring home a poor report card?
(h) When you stay out too late in the evening?
(i) When you get real angry with your mother?
(j) With father (stepfather or mother's friend)?
(k) When you get into serious trouble?

25. Who do you go to when you need help with your homework?

26. Is there someone who you can talk to who really understands you?

27. What does your mother want you to be when you grow up?
What kind of a person does she want you to be?
Is there someone she would like you to be like?
Ask same questions about father or any other important adults.

28. Do you ever go to church?
(How often?)
Where?
What kind of church is that?
Do both whites and Negroes go there? Probe for proportion.
Who do you go with?

29. What do you think about church?
Probe for why child does or doesn't go to or like church.

30. If child goes to church:
Do you know the minister?
What's he like?

31. Do you belong to any church groups?
If yes: What does the group do?

32. If you have children would you want them to go to church?
What church?
Why?

FUTURE FAMILY

1. When you have grown up and are on your own, what kind of life do you want to have?
Probe for details and for his plans for arranging for the kind of life he hopes to have.

2. *Ask if marriage is not mentioned in response to 1:*
   (a) Do you plan to get married when you grow up?
   Why or why not? *Ask about conditions and qualifications if any and about preparation or readiness for marriage if his response suggest it.*
   (b) What kind of girl would make a good wife for you?
   What kinds of things would you like her to do or expect her to do?
   Do you know anybody whom you would like her to be like?

3. How many children do you want to have when you grow up?
   How many boys?
   How many girls?
   Why?

4. What kinds of things will you want your sons to do when they are your age?
   What kinds of things do you hope they will not do?
   What advice will you give them when they are your age?

Pathways Project
Harvard Center for Research and Development
January 1967

(3)
Focal Child Interview

PEER GROUP

(NOTE: ASK FOR SPECIFIC EXAMPLES, ANECDOTES, WHENEVER APPROPRIATE)

1. Who do you hang with?
   Ask respondent to name each member of his usual group and to describe each one. Probe for whether group is school or neighborhood based.
   (a) Do you think of yourselves as a gang or a club or just a bunch of guys?
   (b) How did you join this group?
   (c) What do you usually do together?
   Probe: Are there two or more groups? Which is most important to focal child? If more than one group, ask question 2, below for each.

2. Try to find out what different roles exist in the group and who fills these roles, for example:
   (a) Is there anybody who usually is the one who decides what to do? Would you say he's the leader? Probe for respondent's distinctions.
   (b) Is there anyone besides_______who usually plans the action -- whatever you're going to do?
   (c) Who's your best friend of these you've mentioned? What's he like?
   (d) Which (boy, kid, guy, cat, stud, dude) do you like the least and why?
   (e) Who would you trust most if you were in trouble?
   (f) Who's the cleanest, most together guy in the bunch?

3. What sort of things do you do together?
   (a) Do you get together for parties?
      i. Who comes? Can kids outside the group come? Who?
      ii. What are your parties like? Probe for drinking, smoking, sex, fighting.
      iii. Do you and your friends ever fool around with girls?

      If he says he doesn't but some friends do, ask: What do they do with the girls? Do they make out? Elaborate on question if necessary.

      If he says he does, ask him some of the things he's done, and probe to better understand his present sexual activities. If he has a girlfriend, we will be interested if he still does things with other girls and if he treats them differently than he does his girlfriend.

      iv. If not previously answered: Are there any girls who hang with you sometimes?
   (b) What about sports? (teams, casual games, chance playing; give specific examples)

   (c) Ask about things they do together in general for each relevant area, for example; hanging out, going down-town. Get specific examples.

4. (a) What happens when two guys disagree or get mad at each other?
Probe for specific example.
(b) Are there any kids in the (gang, group) who seem to be constantly bugging each other?

5. Every group has some kind of rules.
(a) What sort of rules does your group have?
(b) What happens if you don't live up to them or like them?
Has this ever happened to you?

6. Is there anything that your friends would like you to do differently from the way that you do it? Probe.

7. Which ones in your group does your mother know?
How often does she see (each of them)?
What does she think of (each of them)?

8. Which ones does your (father or other close relative or surrogate) know?
How often does he see (each of them)?
What does he think of them?

9. What about your brothers and sisters?
Do they know your friends?

10. Are there any other kids that you see a lot of but aren't in the group?
When do you see them?
What do you do together?
If they know boys in your group, how do they get along with the other boys in your group?

11. Are there any kids your (group, gang) fights with?
Who are they?
How does it start?
How often?

12. How does your group get money? Probe for breaking and entering, etc.

13. Have you ever been in trouble together? (in or out of school)
Have you (or any others in the group) been in trouble with the cops?
(a) What happened?
(b) Did your folks find out? What did (whoever it was) do?

14. How are your friends doing in school?
Probe for each cited friend:
(a) How are his grades?
(b) Does he like school?
(c) How does he feel about going to the Campbell?
(d) How far do you think he'll go in school?
Has he talked about dropping out? Explore fully reasons why or why not.

(e) *If appropriate*: Where does he want to go to high school?
Do you think he'll go there?

(f) What kind of work do you think he'll do after he's out of school?
How'll he'll make out in his work?

(g) What do you think he'll be like whe he's twenty-five?
Thirty-five?
Probe for work, family, place of residence, etc.

USE GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS. Be sure to find out who each person is.

A. Gloved hands driving a GT-350

(After story is completed, if subject has not noticed or mentioned that key is missing, ask how car was or could be started).

B. Three boys standing in front of a brick building.

C. Boy punching other boy.

D. Five boys, one pointing downwards.

E. A bunch of boys on a corner. One in the foreground, wearing gloves, has arms outstretched.

Pathways Project
Harvard University
March, 1967

SCHOOL

A. School History:
FOR EACH SCHOOL ASK WHERE IT IS IF YOU DON'T KNOW AND HOW LONG HE WENT THERE.)

1. Where have you gone to school?

    a) Pre-school: Nursery schools, day care centers, church schools?
    b) Elementary schools: How long for each school?
    c) Junior high: Could you have gone to any other junior high?
    If yes: Why?
    d) Do you wish you had gone to some other school this year?
    If yes: Why?
    e) High school
    If they haven't gotten this far, find out where they expect to go and why.
    f) What tracks? Type of course?
    g) Have you ever been skipped a grade or made to repeat?

2. What's the first thing you remember about school?
Probe for details of experience and feelings, quality of the teacher's and the kid's expectations.

3. Who was the best teacher you ever had?
When did you have her or him?
    a) Why was s(he) good?
    b) What grade and subject did s(he) teach?
    c) What did s(he) think of you?
    Did s(he) see you as you are?
    d) Was s(he) fair with the kids? Examples
    e) Did s(he) expect a lot of work from the kids?
    Was s(he) strict?
    f) Did s(he) call on you often? Probe for circumstances.
    g) Did s(he) help you to get the answer right?
    Did s(he) give you enough time to answer?
    What did s(he) do if you said you didn' t know the answer or if you got it wrong?
    h) How was your work in that subject?

4. Who is the best teacher you have had this year? If not covered above.
    a) Why is s(he) good?
    b) What subject does s(he) teach?
    c) What does s(he) think of you?
    Does s(he) see you as you are?
    D) Is s(he) fair with the kids? Examples.
    e) Does s(he) expect a lot of work from the kids?
    Is s(he) strict?
    f) Does s(he) call on you often? Probe for circumstances.
    g) Does s(he) help you get the answers right?
    Does she give you enough time to answer?
    What does she do if you say you don't know the answer or if you get it wrong?
    h) How is your work in that subject?

5. Is there any teacher this year that you're having trouble with?
If no, ask: "Well, think about the teacher you had the most trouble with before."
   a) What grade and subject did s(he) teach?
   b) What was the trouble? What happened? Give an example.
      How did you feel about it?
      If appropriate: "What did the other kids say?
      Did your parents find out?"
   c) Did any of the other students have trouble with her (him)?
      What sort?
      Do you think most kids thought s(he) was bad?
      Optional probe: "Was there anyone who stuck up for the teacher?"
   d) What did s(he) think of you?
      Did s(he) see you as you are?
   e) Who got most of the attention in that class?
      Why?
   f) How was your work in that subject?
   g) What teacher do you dislike the most this year?
      Explore unless it's same as above.
      If none given, ask for the teacher he'd most like to have a substitute for.

6. Have there been many times when your teacher left your school during the term?
Do you have substitute teachers very often?
In what class and why?

7. Would you like any of your teachers to give you more attention or help? Ask for specific examples.
   a) Is ____________(the teacher mentioned) interested in helping you when the work is difficult?
   b) Think of an instance. What did s(he) do?
      What was the effect of this?
   c) What happens when you need help and s(he) doesn't come through?
      Why do you think s(he) doesn't help?
      How does s(he) let you know--what does s(he) say to you?
   d) If you needed extra help in a subject, who could you go to?
      Have you done this? Example.
      Do you have a tutor? If yes: "How did you get the tutor?"
      If no: "How would you go about getting one?"
      Do any of your friends have tutors?

B. Discipline:

8. Tell me about a boy who is always in hot water in school.
Have subject really describe such a boy.
   a) How does he get along with the teachers?
      Is there any teacher he gets along with well?
      Why do you think that is?

b) What do the other students think about him?
Do some admire him because of what he does?

c) How is he treated?

d) Is he getting anything out of school? Probe.
Will he stay in school?

e) Why do you think things go badly for him at school?
(Is it him or the school system?)

f) What could happen that would make it better?
How could the teachers and the kids treat him and teach him that would get him going, make him happier, and help him learn better?

g) If you were his teacher and wanted him to do better and to like school more, what would you do?
Probe for any relevance of this for subject.

9. What sorts of things seem to bother teachers most at your school?
Give me an example.
How do they handle that?
What is discipline like at your school?
Do they use the rattan much? Probe.

10. If you were a teacher, how would you handle the worst trouble-makers?
Probe: If subject gives mainly "Get tough" answers, try "What if the kid's trouble is that people have been tough with him all his life?"
Another important probe is, "How would you get him to respect you?" We have to be able to differentiate between the teacher who gets tough and is then beaten up and the teacher whose toughness pays off ultimately in rapport.

11. What kinds of trouble have you had in school?
Probe for consequences.

12. Has there been any racial trouble in your school?
   a) What happened?
   b) Have you had any trouble because you're a Negro?
   (Have you ever been called out of your name at school?)

13. Now think about a boy who does very well in school.
   a) What is he like?
   b) Why does he do so well?
   c) How does he get along with teachers?
   Other kids?
   Which is more important to subject?
   Probe for how the subject feels about such a kid. Is the good guy a fairy and a sell out? Does the subject feel more like this kid or the kid who's in trouble?

C. Interest and Performances:

14. What have you liked most in school?
Why?
Were you especially good at that?
Possible probes: If he answers with an academic subject, ask him what the teacher was like. If he answers with an activity or sport, ask who supervised or coached it and what other friends were in it. Then ask, after (b), about favorite subject.

(14.) Cont'd

a) Does the interest continue?
b) Did he get recognition from it?
How?
c) What does he like to study the most, if not the above?
d) What do your teachers think you're best at?
e) What do you think you're best at?

15. What have you hated (or disliked) most in school?
a) Why?
Was there anything you could do about it?
Areas of probing: If a subject is not mentioned initially, ask about the subject he hated most, what the teacher was like. Was his dislike linked to a feeling of frustration or failure?
b) What do your teachers think you're worst at?
c) Do they know what you're really best at?

16. How are you doing in your courses this year?
a) Probe: Get course comments. For each course ask if he expected to do differently or wants to improve his grades in the course now.
b) Probe: If he says he wants to do better, try to determine whether he cares about getting a better grade, as opposed to thinking he ought to because of external pressures.
What would he need to do to do better in the course?
c) Do you think your marks on tests and school grades really show how well you know the stuff you're supposed to be learning?
d) Are there any courses you wish you had taken?
Any you wish you hadn't taken?
e) Have you had any special classes?
What were they like?
Probe for remedial or enrichment classes and programs.
f) Would you say it's easier for you to learn school subjects than others in your class, or harder for you to learn than for other kids, or just about the same?

17. Is your school different in any way from other schools you know about?
If he can't think of other schools, suggest Lewis, Timilty, etc.
a) If he doesn't mention the present difficulties at the Campbell, ask specifically:
What do you think is going on with the Campbell?
b) Probe to find out his perception of what's happening in the Campbell, especially in regard to discipline. Get specific examples:
i. Is he involved?
ii. What students do what?
iii. How do individual teachers act and react?
iv. Which teachers does he respect and which are he down on?
v. What does he think of the administration?

c) It will be very important to get at his reasons for why such problems arise and his perception of the points of view of teachers and students.
d) Probe to find out what he thinks of the publicity.
e) Do his friends and family talk about it?
f) How would he go about fixing things up?

18. Has your mother ever gone to school to talk to a teacher of the principal about you and/or your brothers or sisters?
If father is present, repeat the question, asking if father has gone to the school, etc.
Ask for description of instances.

19. Have you talked with any teacher about:
(For each section, ask with whom, what teacher said, and how it came up.)

a) What high school you would go to?
b) What course you should take in junior high school and high school?
c) What you should do when you grow up?
Ask about guidance teacher if he doesn't mention him.

20. a) How far do your teachers think you should or could go in school?
b) How far do they think you will actually go?

21. a) How far does your mother (and father, if present) think you should or could go in school?
b) How far does she (and he) want you to go in school?
c) How far does she (and he) think you will actually go in school?
d) How important is it to your mother (and father) that you get good grades?
e) What does she (and he) say about how you're doing in school?
f) Does she (or he) ever say that she (he) wishes you would do as well as some other kid?

22. a) How far do most of your friends want to go in school?
b) How far do you think most of them will actually go?

23. Is there any one person in particular who you think has a special interest in how well you do in school?
What do they say about your schoolwork?

24. a) If you were able to go as far in school as you wanted to, how far would you go? Why?
b) How far do you think you will actually go in school? Why?
c) If the subject does not expect to finish high school, ask him why.
d) What would have to happen in order for you to graduate from high school?
If the subject expects to go to high school, be sure that we know what high school he expects and wants to go to and why.

If the subject plans to graduate from high school but does not plan to go to college, ask:

e) Have you ever thought of going to college?

f) Do you think you have or could have the ability to go through college?

If he would like to go to college, ask:

What kind of college do you imagine going to?

If the subject expects to go to college, ask:

h) What kind of college do you expect to go to?

i) What do you have to do to get in?
What courses do you have to take in high school?
What kind of marks do you have to get?

j) Would anything prevent you from going to college?

25. Do you ever think of dropping out of school?

If yes: When did you first think of dropping out?

a) What might make you decide to drop out?
What keeps you from dropping out?

b) What do your friends think about dropping out for you or for themselves?

c) Do you think getting through high school will make any real difference in your life?

d) What about the school--do you think that the teachers and staff would mind if you quit?

e) Would your folks mind?

f) If you quit, what would you do (after you were 16)?

If no: Why not?

D. Teachers, race, etc.:

26. Do the teachers here ever treat Negro kids differently from white kids?

27. Is there any difference between Negro teachers here and white teachers in how they treat kids?

28. If you could be taught by mainly Negro teachers or mainly white teachers, which would you pick?

Why?

If there's no preference, ask:

a) What would be the best ratio of Negro to white teachers?

b) Can you think of any courses that might be taught better by a Negro than a white teacher or better by a white than a Negro teacher?
Why?

29. Would you rather be in an integrated school, one that had mostly Negro students, or one that had mainly white students in it?

30. Would you rather be in a school run by a Negro teacher or a white teacher?

31. If you had a choice, would you rather be taught by:
    a) Men teachers or women teachers? Why?
    b) Teachers in their 20's and 30's or teachers 40 years or older? Why?
    c) Married teachers or single teachers?

32. In your courses have you had anything about Negro History or civil rights?
    Probe for detail and subject's reaction.

33. Do you learn anything about Africa as it is now? What?
    Probe for image of Africa, African Negroes.

E. Extra Curricular Activities:

34. Have you ever gotten involved in any clubs, committees, teams, special responsibilities?
    What?
    When?
    How did you get interested in that?
    Probe carefully and for details regarding athletics.

35. Have there been things that you would have liked to do but didn't?

36. What does it take to be a part of these things?
    a) In many schools there is one group that seems to have in it most of the leaders, the most popular kids, or smartest, or best athletes.
    b) Is there a group like this in your school?
    What is it like?
    c) Are you in that group?
    Would you like to be?
    What would it take to be part of that group?

37. Are there any other activities you would enjoy in school but which are not available in your school?

38. a) Is there anything connected with school that you can't do as well as you'd like because you don't have the money to keep up?
    b) Are there other kids who have a hard time in school because their families just don't have enough money?
    What happens?
    What do they do when they don't have the money they need?

F. Reading:

39. Did anyone read to you when you were younger?
    Explore memories of who read, what sort of things were read, child's interest.
    Do you read much now?
    If yes:
    a) What kinds of books, newspapers, magazines, comics?
    How frequently?
    How do you find out what's happening in the news?

b) Who do you like to talk with about the things you read?
c) Does anyone suggest interesting books for you to read?
Do you enjoy the things they give you?
Do you hash these books out with them?

If no:
d) Do you find it hard to read stuff?
Why? Because you're not a good reader, or is it that books have never seemed interesting?
e) Do you read the sports page? comics? mysteries? etc.

40. What about hookey?
Do you stay out much?
How did you get started?
Who do you play hookey with?
What did you do when you skipped school?
Probe for what kid got out of skipping school--independence? gang solidarity? money? etc.

41. Optional introduction: We've talked to lots of high school and junior high boys now. Some say they think school is OK; others think it's a drag and the whole system is for the birds.
How do you feel about school (and the school system?)

42. a) If you could build a school to be any way you wanted, what would it be like?
b) Do you know of any schools in or around Boston that are like that?

43. a) If you were running this research program (and wanted to find out how school is for kids your age), is there anything you'd ask them that we haven't?
b) Is there anything you think we asked the wrong way or we should have left out?

Pathways Project
Harvard Center for Research and Development
February, 1967

(4)
Focal Child Interview

WORK SCHEDULE

1. What do you want to do for a living when you grow up?

2. What exactly does a ___________ do? Ask about job mentioned.

3. What is it you'd like about being a ____________________?
What is there about being a ___________________ that you think you might not like?

4. Let's say you're grown up and you're a ________________________.
What do you think an average work day might be like for you?

5. What do you have to do to become a ____________________________?
What kind of training do you need?
Where would you go to school for this?
Are you thinking of the service as a possibility for training?

6. What made you first think of becoming a ____________________?
If subject gives an answer that is not a person, then ask:
What was it about _________________'s that you liked?
If a person is given, then ask: Did you talk with him about being a ____________________?
What did you ask?
If not a person, then ask: Did you know anyone who is a ____________?
If yes: Have you talked to him about his work?
What did you ask him?
If not: If you had a chance to meet a __________, what kinds of questions would you ask him?
If a person, ask: Do you know of any ________'s from TV or movies, books or comic books?
If yes: What was it about them that you liked?

7. What does your mother want you to be?
What does she like about that job?
What job would she not like for you?

What does your father want you to be?
What does he like about that job?
What job would he not like for you?
Would your mother like you to what your father does?
Why?

If there is another important person in the household besides the father, ask about him:
What do they think about your being a________________?
Do they ever disagree about the kind of job that they want you to have?

Is there any other grownup you've talked to about jobs? *Probe in similar manner.*

8. Have you received any advice or counselling in school about this?
From whom?
What did he say?
If not a guidance counselor: Have you ever talked with a guidance counselor?
What did he say?

9. You've said you'd like to be a_________? Let's say that for some reason you couldn't be a ______________, what would be your second choice?
Repeat questions 2-6 for second choice.

10. How long have you wanted to be a __________? (First choice)
Before that, what did you want to be?
What made you change your mind?
Before that what was the first thing you remember wanting to be?

11. Do you think that there are jobs that you might want that you might not be able to get because you are a Negro?
If yes: *Probe for specific jobs and ask why.*
If no: Are there any jobs that you don't see many Negroes in?

12. Are there any exciting or unusual jobs that you might like but you don't see many negroes in?

13. Can you think of some types of work that you would *not* like to do?
Why not?
For each job mentioned, probe for both social status reasons and reasons of personal capability. Do not settle for financial reasons only.

14. Are you working now?

If no, go on to question 15.
If yes, continue with:

a) What do you do? *Probe for specific activities and job description.*
b) How many hours per week do you work on this job?
What are your hours each day?
c) What is the pay...(per hour?
(per week?
(per month?
(per year?
d) How long have you had this job?
How did you find out about this job?
e) Do you expect your present job to end in the near future?

If yes: Why? Probe for specifics.
What will you do when this job ends?
If no: Why not?

15. If no to question 14 ask:

a) Have you ever tried to get a job?
If yes: Please give an example - Probe for type of job, method of trying to obtain it, what happened as a result of his efforts.

If no: How do you think you might go about getting a job if youwanted one?

b) Have you had any other jobs in the past?
If yes: Probe for job description.

hours
pay
length of time held and reason for leaving
how the job was discovered and obtained

NOTE: If the child had not had any previous work experience and is not working presently, continue with the regular Work Schedule. The following questions are only for students who have been or are now employed:

16. Now I'd like you to think about all the jobs you have held in the past and the job you hold now. Tell me:

a) What you liked and disliked about each.
For instance: What did you think about the pay, the type of work, the hours, the people you worked with, the physical setting.
b) How would you describe your boss (es)?
Did/do you have to see him often during the day? Probe for the specific nature of his contact with the boss and his feelings about this contact.
What does your boss naturally do?
c) What was most important to you when you were deciding whether or not to take the job(s)?
d) Did you know much about the job(s) before you took it (them)?
Probe for what he knows and how he knew it.
e) Why do you think you were hired?
Do you think there was something "special" about you that helped you get this job(s)?
What do you think your boss took into consideration when he hired you?
f) How did you do on the job?
g) If your boss didn't treat you fairly, what could you do about it?

17. Is your employer white or Negro?

a) Have you ever had a Negro boss? If so, was he different in any way from the white bosses you have had?
b) How many people work on your job?
c) How many of these are white? Negro?
d) Are there differences between white jobs and negro jobs?
What's the difference?
What jobs are for whites?
What jobs are for Negroes?
e) Are whites treated differently from Negroes?
If so, in what way and why do you think this is so?

18. If you were thinking about taking a job, what are some of the things you'd try to find out about the job?

19. When someone is thinking about hiring you, what things about you do you think he should take into consideration?

20. If you could have a wish to become anything you wanted, what would it be?
Why?
Could you ever become that?

FAMILY WORK

NOTE: If father is absent, but you think subject may know something about his father's work, ask these questions:

1. Do you think your father has abilities he never got to use in work?

Is your father working now?
If Yes:
What kind of work does he do?
Where?
How long has he been working there?
What does he have to do when he is at work?
What does he say about his work?
How much does his job pay?
Have you ever gone to work with him?
Do you have any idea how he learned to do this particular type of work?

It special training was required, ask where he got his training inquire about the nature of the training. Probe to find out if parent is trained to do something else. If so, ask why he is not working at the kind of job for which he was trained.

a) Does he like his job?
What does he like/dislike about it?
Would you like to do this type of work?
Why/why not?
b) Does he have a second job or extra job?
If yes: Use the questions above as a guide.
c) Before working at this job (these jobs) where did your father work?
Ask the questions above about previous jobs.

If NO: Has he ever worked?
If he has, ask questions above about previous jobs.
When did he stop working?
Why?
Has there been a (another) period when your father was unemployed?
If YES: When was that?
How long was he unemployed?
How did he spend his time when he wasn't working?
What does (did) he have to do in order to find another job?
How do you think he feels when he is not working?

2. When your father was growing up, what did he want to be?
PROBE: Try to cover the following three items:
a) Was it something he once did, but then gave it up?
b) Was it something he never did, but always wanted to do?
c) What were his explanations as to why he never did it, or why he left it?

3. Where there is an easily accessible of history of something the father wanted to be, ask the following questions?

a) How do you think your father feels about the way things turned out, about not being a____________________?

b) What do you think he should have done with himself, in terms of work?

c) How would you feel if, when you're his age, you haven't become what you wanted to be?

4. Where the subject cannot report some specific job aspiration of father's, probe for idealistic jobs the father might have liked.

If your father could have been anything he wanted to be, what do you think he would have been?

What stopped him from doing that?

Would he have been good at being a____________________?

Why?

PROBE here for either a YES or NO answer, for the personal qualities the boy feels his father had or lacked, qualities that would, in the boy's mind have been important to being a ____________________.

FAMILY WORK

NOTE: If there is no father present or working, but if the mother is working, ask these questions about the mother.

1. Is your father working now?
   If yes:
   What kind of work does he do?
   Where?
   How long has he been working there?
   What does he have to do when he is at work?
   What does he say about his work?
   How much does his job pay?
   Have you ever gone to work with him?
   Do you have any idea how he learned to do this particular type of work?
   If special training was required, ask where he got his training.
   Inquire about the nature of the training. Probe to find out if parent is trained to do something else. If so, ask why he is not working at the kind of job for which he was trained.

Does he like his job?
What does he like/dislike about it?
Would you like to do this type of work? Why? Why not?

Does he have a second job or extra job?
If yes: Use the questions above as a guide.

Before working at this job (these jobs) where did you father work?
Ask the questions above about previous jobs.

If no: Has he ever worked? If he has, ask questions about previous jobs.

When did he stop working?
Why?

Has there been a (another) period when your father was unemployed?
If yes: When was that?
How long was he unemployed?
How did he spend his time when he wasn't working?
What does (did) he have to do in order to find another job?
How do you think he feels when he is not working?

2. What things is your father best at?
   Ask only if father is in the house or if child knows about him.

3. When your father was growing up, what did he want to be?
   Probe: try to cover the following three items:
   a) Was it something he once did, but then gave up?
   b) Was it something he never did, but always wanted to do?
   c) What were his explanations as to why he never did it, or why he left it?

4. Where there is an easily accessible history of something the father wanted to be, ask the following questions:

a) How do you think your father feels about the way things turned out, about not being a________________?
b) What do you think he should have done with himself, in terms of work?
c) How would you feel if, when you're his age, you haven't become what you wanted to be?

5. Where the subject cannot report some specific job aspiration of the father's, probe for idealistic jobs the father might have liked.

a) If your father could have been anything he wanted to be, what do you think he would have been?
b) What stopped him from doing that?
c) Would he have been good at being a_______________? Why?

Probe here for either a YES or NO answer, for the personal qualities the boy feels his father had or lacked, qualities that would, in the boy's mind, have been important to being a_______________________.

Pathways Project
Harvard Center for Research and Development
February 1967

(6)

Focal Child Interview

SELF CONCEPT SCHEDULE

1. Everybody has some things that he's especially good at and other things he's pretty bad at.

   a) What things would you say you can do much better than the average boy your age?
   First get spontaneous list; then, if necessary, probe for different areas: school, sports, street life, work, hobbies, social skills.

   b) For each such activity probe for:
   What makes you better at that?

   We want to know if he thinks his competence is just natural, learned, imitative, etc.

   c) What sorts of things are you not so good at, compared with the average boy your age?

   d) For each activity mentioned:
   What would it take for you to become better at that?

2. Now, there are probably some things that you're lousy at but you don't really care about because other things are more important.
But of those things you said you weren't very good at, which ones would you want to change if you could?
   Why?
   Do you think you can?

3. If you could be different in any other ways, how would you like to be different?
Why?

4. If somebody was trying to brainwash you in order to change you as much as possible from what you are now, what about yourself would you fight hardest to keep the same?

5. If your mother could have you change in any ways she wanted, how do you think she'd have you be different?
Would you want to change to be that way?

   If he sounds as if he's giving a pat answer, try something like, "Come on now, do you really mean that?"

6. If your father (father-surrogate, or any other important person charged with raising the boy) could change you, how would he want you to be different?

   Would you want to be like that?

7. What about your (sister or brother)?

   Here ask about brother(s) and sister(s) who seem most important.

8. If your best friend could have you be different in any ways, how do you think he'd want you to change?

9. Are there any things your folks want you to do that your friends don't want or don't like you to do?
   (What do you do about that?
   How do you decide?
   How do you feel about it?)

10. Are there any things your friends want or like you to do that your folks don't like?
    (What do you do in that case?
    How do you decide?
    How do you feel about it?)

11. Are there any things that other adults want or expect from you that your folks are against or don't care about?
    Utilize similar probes; if no response, ask what about teachers, employers.

12. If answer is "No" to above questions, one last valiant effort:

    Do you ever find yourself in situations where two people disagree about how you should be or what you should do?

13. If you could grow up to be like any person you know, who would you pick?
    Why?
    What would you have to do to become more like him?
    Make sure he is telling you about someone he knows as opposed to a celebrity or someone he "knows of".

14. a) If you had a chance to change places with any boy your age that you know--be like him and live his life--who would you switch with?
       Why?

    b) Do you know of any families that you like so much sometimes you think it would be nice to be a member of that family?
       Explore.

15. Who of the boys your age that you know, would you most hate to be like?
    Why?

16. Let's pretend you wanted to disappear from the scene for a while, but you had to get someone to take your place so that no one would know you were gone. You have to teach him, like with a spy, how to act like you so that no one would know the difference.

    How would you tell him to act around home? With your friends? At school? (etc.)

17. If you could be changed into any famous person who ever lived, who would you pick?
    Why?

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(6)

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   Why?
   Do you think you can?

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How do you decide?
How do you feel about it?)

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Why?
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Make sure he is telling you about someone he knows as opposed to a celebrity or someone he "knows of".

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Why?

b) Do you know of any families that you like so much sometimes you think it would be nice to be a member of that family?
Explore.

15. Who of the boys your age that you know, would you most hate to be like?
Why?

16. Let's pretend you wanted to disappear from the scene for a while, but you had to get someone to take your place so that no one would know you were gone. You have to teach him, like with a spy, how to act like you so that no one would know the difference.

How would you tell him to act around home? With your friends? At school? (etc.)

17. If you could be changed into any famous person who ever lived, who would you pick?
Why?

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Focal Child Interview

RACIAL AWARENESS SCHEDULE

1. We are interested in finding out how teen-agers think of themselves racially. First of all, what do you call yourself in terms of race?

   Remember the term used by S and use it subsequently in the interview. If the question is not clear even after re-wordings, ask: "Do you think of yourself as being colored, Negro, black, Afro-American, West Indian, or what?"

2. Some of the boys we've interviewed have referred to themselves as Negro and some kids said that they were black. Other kids called themselves colored and some have called themselves "Afro".

   a) Do you think that a person who calls himself black or Afro-American thinks about his race differently than one who calls himself colored or Negro?
   b) Do you think there's any difference between a person who calls himself colored and one who calls himself Negro?
   c) What about your family, your friends....
   How do they refer to themselves racially?

3. When did you first realize that you were ______________?
   What happened?
   How did you feel about it?
   How old were you then?
   Did you tell any of your family about it? (or anyone else?)
   What did they say?

   If the subject relates a very early incident without much detail, and it looks as though probing won't elicit more, then ask for later incidents:
   When was the next time that made you aware that you were a ____________?
   When was the last time you thought about being a ______________?
   What made you think about it?

4. Have you ever been called nigger or any names like that?

   Explore specific circumstances. If subject only mentions being called nigger by other Negroes, still explore it but ask him if he's ever been called that by whites.

5. Have there been any times when something bad or unpleasant happened to you just because you are ____________?

Suggested probes: What happened then? (How old were you?)
How did you feel?
Why did it happen?
Did you tell anybody about it?
What did that make you think?

6. If subject mentions an incident:
Did this sort of thing ever make you wonder if Negroes were maybe not as good as whites?

If subject does not mention an incident:
Do you think that some Negro children sometimes wonder if they are as good as white children? Explore.

Have you ever wondered that about yourself?

7. Do you ever discuss the racial situation or racial problems at home? Give me some examples.

When was the last family discussion about ____________s and things that happen with them?

What was it all about? Find out who participated, who said what, what started it.

If father is in household: Do your mother and father ever disagree about the racial situation or civil rights?

Do you ever disagree with your mother (or, if present, your father) about these things?

8. Imagine that you and your family were watching the news on T.V. and there was a report that a Negro civil rights leader had been shot and killed by a white man.

What would you think and feel?
What would (each family member) say?

(Probes: How would you feel about whites?
How would you feel about America?)

9. Imagine that you were watching T.V. and there was a news flash that there was rioting in the Negro section of a large city.

Repeat above probes

10. Let's pretend that a little boy is playing on the sidewalk and some white boys push past him. One of the white boys says "Hey, nigger, get out of the way." Now, the little boy had never heard that before. He never even knew he was Negro.

    How does he react to this? What does he thing, do, feel?

11. Now let's imagine that you go downtown with some friends and you go into a store to look at the merchandise. Then you notice the store manager looking at you.

    What's happening? (What is the manager thinking? what are you thinking?
    your friends? What happens?

12. When you see a Negro guy dating a white girl, what do you think about it?

13. When you see a Negro girl dating a white boy what do you think about it?

14. If there was an injection or a pill you could take that would make you white, what would you do? Why? Explore

15. If you could press a button and by magic it would turn everyone in America into Negroes, would you dot it? Why? Explore.

16. What is the difference between white kids you know and Negro kids you know?

17. What are the differences between Negro people and white people in general?

18. What are some advantages of being ____________?
    Why are they advantages? Ask about each.

19. What are some disadvantages of being ______________?
    Why are they disadvantages? Ask about each.

20. Are there some things that you know of that Negroes can't do or that they are not allowed or encouraged to do?

21. Is life for Negroes different from life for whites?

22. Do you have any close friends who are white?
    If not: Why not?
    Have you ever had any white friends?
    If yes: How do you (did you) get along with them?

23. How would you feel if you were invited to a party and you were pretty sure you'd be the only ________ there?
Would you invite a white boy or girl to a party if you knew everyone else there would be _______?
Why or why not?

24. Would you:
a) live in an all-white neighborhood? in an integrated neighborhood?
b) go to an all-white school?
c) belong to the same social club with some white boys your age?
d) belong to the same gang with some white boys your age?
e) invite a white boy to watch TV at your house?
f) go to his house to watch TV?
g) go to a party with some white boys your age?

25. Do you know what a do is?
If he doesn't know what a do is, suggest "hair process."
What kind of dos have you seen?
Would you like to have a do yourself?
Explore to find out what kind of do he would like, and when, and why he'd like to get his hair done.
Have you ever had a do?
Is there any difference between kids who wear dos and those who don't?

26. a) Are you lighter or darker or about the same color as other members of your family?
If lighter or darker: Do they treat you differently because of it?
If yes: How?

b) What about your friends -- are you lighter or darker or about the same color as your friends?
If lighter or darker: Are you treated differently because of it?

27. Were any members of your family white people or Indians or Africans?
If yes: Do you feel you are part (white, Indian, or African, depending on what S mentioned)?

28. Have you heard of Negro History Week?
Where did you hear about it?
What do people do during that week?
Have you ever heard the Negro National Anthem?

29. Tell me about some famous Negroes from history.
Ask what they are famous for.

30. Name some well-known or famous Negroes who are living today.
Ask what they are famous for.
Have you ever read any books about Negroes or books written by Negroes?
If yes: Which ones?

31. After subject has named and described some contemporary Negroes, ask him to name and describe some Negroes in the folowing areas:

a) Sports
b) Entertainment (music, movies, TV, etc.)
c) Civil rights
d) Writing, painting, arts
e) Science
f) Famous Africans
g) Any other area you think of
h) Ask him if there is anyone or any category that was left out.

32. Are there some well-known Negroes that you know about who live in Boston? If he doesn't name one ask him if he has heard of Mel King, Noel Day, Royal Bolling, Rev. Virgil Wood and any other specific persons you feel may give us an idea of what he knows about the community.

33. Do you know of any guys who are into Numbers (or policy) or who are making it as pimps (alternate wordings: "who have a string of hustlers") or who are making some money through stealing?

Assure him that names are not necessary.

For each: How do you know about him?

Some of the kids we interviewed last year said that they had thought about being pimps or getting into Numbers.
Did you ever think of doing that?

34. Do you know about any civil rights groups or organizations? If the question is not clear, give the NAACP as an example and ask if he knows what it does.

Inquire specifically as to what he knows about the following groups and what they do:

a) CORE
b) SNCC
c) The Urban League
d) The Black Muslims
e) Operation Exodus
f) METCO

35. Do you know about the following people? (if he has not already talked about them)?
What do you think about them?
How did you find out about them?
a) Martin Luther King
b) Malcolm X
c) Stokely Carmichael
d) Louis X (or Louis Farrakahn)
e) Rap Brown [illegible]
f) anyone else you'd like to ask about
Do your family, friends think the same as you do about these groups and people?

36. There's a lot of talk nowadays about Black Power.
What do you think people mean by it?
What do you think about it?

37. Do you think things are changing for __________ in America?
If yes: In what ways?
What changes do you hope for by the time you grow up?

38. Do you think that your being in America will make it harder for you to get what you want out of life?

39. Do you think there is ever any conflict between being ________ and being an American?

40. If you weren't __________, what race or group would you like to be a member of?
What race or group would you hate to be a member of?

41. Is there any other country you'd rather live in than the U.S.A.?

42. Are there any questions we should have asked about race but didn't?

NEIGHBORHOOD, HOUSE AND TRAVEL

1. When you think about your neighborhood, what first comes to your mind?
   What else stands out in your neighborhood?

2. How would you describe your neighborhood? If child has not answered the questions below in his response, then ask:
   a) What does your neighborhood look like?
   b) What kinds of buildings are there?
   c) What kinds of people live in your neighborhood?
   d) What goes on in your neighborhood?
   e) What is your neighborhood called?
   f) In what section of town is it?

3. a) Draw a map of your neighborhood. Use black felt tipped pen for this drawing.
   b) When the subject has completed his drawing give him the base map.
   There are a number of places I am going to ask you to find on this map. First, find the street where you live on the map and mark it with an "X" (color: black pencil)
   Draw a circle around the area you call your neighborhood. (color: black)

4. Where do you usually hang out in your neighborhood?
   a) Do you have any favorite places for hanging out?
   b) If yes: Where are they?
   Draw a circle around those areas on the (base) map. (Color: green)
   c) Why do you like to hang out there?
   d) What do you do there?
   Where are special places you go to have a good time?
   Draw circles around them. (color: Orange)

5. Are there some places in your neighborhood where you are not allowed to go?

   a) If yes: Where are they?
   b) Who told you not to go there?
   c) Why are you not supposed to go there?
   d) Do you go anyway?
   e) Draw a circle around those places on the (base) map. (Color: Blue)

6. Are there some places in your neighborhood where some people feel are not safe places to go at night?
   Where? Draw a circle around them. (Color: Red)
   Why do they think they are not safe?
   Are there some places where people do not feel safe during the day?
   Where? Draw a circle around them (Color: Red).
   Why do they think they are not safe?

N.B.: The Interviewer is to indicate with brackets the areas unsafe at night and unsafe during the day. Pencil in "X" in the area unsafe at night, "O" the area unsafe during the day.

7. Is your school in your neighborhood? Show me where your school is on the (base) map. Draw a circle around it (Color: black)

   a) Do you walk or ride from where you live to your school?
   If he rides ascertain mode of transportation.
   b) Show me the streets you take when you go to school with a heavy dotted line on the map. (Color: black)
   c) Do you usually go this way?
   Why?
   d) Are there any short-cuts you sometimes take to school?
   e) What kinds of things do you do on the way to and from school?
   f) What are some of the places where you stop in between school and home?
   g) Where do you hang out around the school?

8. When you go outside of your neighborhood, where are some of the places where you go? If necessary clarify by saying "in the Boston area." Draw circles around them on the (base) map. (Color: purple)

   a) How often do you go to________? Ask about each place.
   b) How do you get there?
   c) What do you go there for?
   d) What streets are included in the downtown area?
   Ask subject to write the word "downtown" across the area he has indicated. (Color: purple)
   e) Why do you go downtown?
   f) What do you do when you are there?
   g) How often would you say you go downtown?
   h) Have you ever had any unusual experiences downtown?
   i) Has anything that has happened to you downtown ever bothered you?
   j) Have you ever felt you were lost when you were downtown?
   If yes: Will you explain what happened?

9. Where is the center of Boston? (Purple "X" on map)
If not "downtown" ask: How often do you go there?

10. Do you like the neighborhood where you live now?
Will you explain that somewhat?

11. What kind of reputation does your neighborhood have?
How do you know this?
What do people who live outside of your neighborhood think of it?
How do you know this?

12. Tell me about your house (or apartment) where you live.
What does it look like on the outside?
What is it like on the inside?
How many rooms for sleeping?
Where do you sleep?
Where does everyone else sleep?

What are some things you like about your house (apartment)
and what are some things you don't like about it?

13. Where do you go when you want to be alone?
Where do you like to sit in your house when you want to be by yourself or just don't feel like being bothered with other people?

14. What is the busiest room in your house?
What goes on there?

15. When you're older and on your own, what kind of house would you like to live in?
What would you want it to look like on the outside?
What do you want it to be like inside?
Where do you want it to be?
Why do you want to live in a place like that?
Do you know anybody who lives in a house like that?
Who?
Have you ever visited them?
Where is their house?
Who do you want to live with you?
Why?
Who do you want to live nearby?
Why?
Who do you not want to live nearby?
Why not?

16. Have you ever been to any cities or towns near Boston?
If yes: Which ones?
How did you happen to go? (Or: Why did you go?)
How did you get there - bus, subway, car?
Have you been to some places outside of Massachusetts?
If yes: Where?
How did you happen to go?
How did you get there (car, bus, plane, train)?
Which ones did you visit and which ones did you just travel through?
What did you do there?
How long did you stay?
How old were you then?
When was this?

17. If you won a free trip to any place in the world, where would you like to go?
Why?
How did you know about________? (the place subject chooses.)
Anyplace else?
Why?
How do you know about it?
If you could live anywhere in the world you would like, what place would you choose?
Why?

Any place else?
Why?
Can you think of some places where you never want to live or even visit?
Why?
Anyplace else?
Why?

CODEBOOK APPENDIX

KEY TO SYMBOLS
FOR DATA SOURCES

SYMBOL	SOURCE OF DATA
Fam	Family Interview Schedule
FF	Future Family Interview Schedule
GI	General Information Interview Schedule
IQT	I.Q. Test (Pathways-Administered)
IR	Interviewer Rating
Peer	Peer Interview Schedule
Race	Racial Awareness Interview Schedule
SC	Self Concept Interview Schedule
Schl	School Interview Schedule
SI	Screening Interview
SR	School Records
Work	Work Interview Schedule

EXPLANATION
OF
APPENDIX

-I	Consists of only those variables which were coded, punched in IBM cards, put on a computer master tape, and included in the major computer run.
-II	Variables which were coded, punched and put on the master tape,.some of which were included in a preliminary computer run.
-III	Variables which were coded but never run. (Some were never punched or put on tape, but used to construct composite variables which were put on tape and included in the major computer run. Some were punched and put on tape, but later recoded and run as part of the major analysis in their alternate form.

FOOTNOTES

* Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Otis Dudley Duncan, Paul K. Hatt, and Cecil C. North. "Appendix B. Table B-1. Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in the Detailed Classification of the Bureau of the Census: 1950." _Occupations and Social Status_. New York. 1961. pp. 263-275.

** Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan. "Table 2.1. Ranking of Seventeen Occupational Categories by Socioeconomic Status, for Males Fourteen and Over Employed in 1962." _The American Occupational Structure_. New York. 1967. p. 27.

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
100	x(136)	Student ID Number		2	05 73,74	01...61	61
101	x(1) 1	IQ I.D.	IQT	1	01 1	1: WAIS (Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale) 2: WISC (Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children)	48
102	x(2) 2	Total IQ	IQT	3	01 2-4	Numerical Scale Value (000...n) ORDER: 80-89 90-99 100-109 110+	59
103	x(3) 3,416	Verbal IQ	IQT	3	01 5-7	Numerical Scale Value (000...n) ORDER: 80-89 90-99 100-109 110+	48

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
104	x(4) 4,417	Performance IQ	IQT	3	01 8-10	Numerical Scale Value (000...n) ORDER: 80-89 90-99 100-109 110+	48
105	x(5) 5,494	Verbal Subtest (1): Information	IQT	2	01 11,12	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	46
106	x(6) 6,495	Verbal Subtest (2): Comprehension	IQT	2	01 13,14	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	46

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
107	x(7) 7,496	Verbal Subtest (3): Arithmetic	IQT	2	01 15,16	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	46
108	x(8) 8,497	Verbal Subtest (4): Similarities	IQT	2	01 17,18	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	46
109	x(9) 9,498	Verbal Subtest (5): Vocabulary	IQT	2	01 19,20	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	45

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
110	x(10) 10,499	Verbal Subtest (6): Digit Span	IQT	2	01 21,22	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	45
111	x(11) 11,500	Performance Subtest(1): Picture Completion	IQT	2	01 23,24	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	46
112	x(12) 12,501	Performance Subtest(2): Picture Arrangement	IQT	2	01 25,26	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	46

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
113	x(13) 13,502	Performance Subtest(3): Block Design	IQT	2	01 27,28	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	46
114	x(14) 14,503	Performance Subtest(4): Object Assembly	IQT	2	01 29,30	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	46
115	x(15) 15,504	Performance Subtest(5): Coding	IQT	2	01 31,32	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) WISC Only ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	39

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
116	x(16) 16,505	Performance Subtest(6): Digit Symbol	IQT	2	01 33,34	Numerical Scale Value (00...n) WAIS Only ORDER: 3-5 6-8 9-11 12-14 15+	7
117	x(17) 17	Birth Order	SI	1	01 35	1: First 2: Second 3: Third 4: Fourth 5: Fifth 6: Sixth 7: Seventh 8: Eighth	61
118	x(18) 18-20,506	Position in Family	SI	1	01 36	1: Only child 2: Youngest child 3: Middle child 4: Oldest child ORDER A: 1: Only child 2,3,4: Has siblings ORDER B: 1,4: Only-oldest 2,3: Other	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
119	x(19) 21,418	Family Size	SI	1	01 37	1: Small (1 or 2 dependents, including FC) 2: Medium (3-5) 3: Large (6-14)	61
120	x(20) 22,507	Number of Siblings	SI	2	01 38, 39	00: None 01: One ⋮ ⋮ 13: Thirteen	61
121	x(21) 23-24	Sex of Siblings	SI	1	01 40	0: None 1: Female 2: Male 3: Male & Female ORDER: 0,1: No Male Sibs 2,3: Male Sibs	61
122	x(22) 25	Father Present	SI	1	01 41	1: Absent – Never Married 2: Absent - Separated 3: Absent - Divorced 4: Absent - Deceased 5: Absent - No Information 7: Father Present	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
123	x(23) 26	Father's Occupation	SI	1	01 42	1: Unskilled Labor 2: Semi-skilled Labor 3: Trade or Service 4: Self-employed or Office 5: Minor Professional 6: Major Professional 7: No Information	38
124	x(24) 27-28,419	Father's Education	SI	1	01 43	1: Eight Years or Less 2: Some High School 3: High School Graduate 4: Some College 5: College Graduate	51
						ORDER: 1: No High School 2: Some High School 3,4,5: High School or More	
125	x(25) 29	Mother's Occupation	SI	1	01 44	1: Unskilled Labor 2: Semi-skilled Labor 3: Trade or Service 4: Self-employed or Office 5: Minor Professional 6: Major Professional 7: At Home 8: At Home with ADC 9: No Information	59
						ORDER: 1: Unskilled Labor 2: Semi-skilled Labor 3: Trade or Service 4: Self-employed or Office 5: Minor Professional 6: Major Professional	23

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CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
126	x(26) 30-31,420	Mother's Education	SI	1	01 45	1: Eight Years or Less 2: Some High School 3: High School Graduate 4: Some College 5: College Graduate ORDER: 1: No High School 2: Some High School 3,4,5: High School or More	59
127	x(27) 32,421	ADC	SI	1	01 46	0: None 1: Partial 2: Full	60
128	x(28) 33,508	Family Weekly Income	SI	1	01 47	1: $70 or less 2: $71-85 3: $86-100 4: $101-115 5: $116-130 6: $131 or more	57
129	x(29) 34,426	Monthly Per Capita Income After Rent	SI	1	01 48	1: Low (under $30) 2: Low Middle ($30-64) 3: High Middle ($65-100) 4: High (over $100)	56

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
130	x(30)	Housing Space		2	01 49,50		
131	x(31) 35-36	Condition of House	IR	1	01 51	1: Poor 2: Satisfactory 3: Very Good ORDFR: 1: Poor 2,3: Satisfactory	54
132	x(32) 37-38	Neighborhood Condition	IR	1	01 52	1: Poor 2: Satisfactory 3: Very Good ORDER: 1: Poor 2,3: Satisfactory	52
133	x(33) 39	Mother Present	Fam/1,3a	1	01 53	1: Mother Dead 2: Mother Absent (Doesn't See) 3: Mother Absent (FG Sees Her) 4: Mother Present	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
134	x(34) 40,422	School Group IQ	SR	3	01 54-56	Numerical Scale Value(000...n) ORDER: 80-89 90-99 100-109 110+	47
135	x(35) 41,509	Birth Date	GI/2	2	01 57,58	50: 1950 51: 1951 52: 1952 53: 1953 54: 1954 55: 1955	61
136	x(36) 42,510	Age at Interview	GI/2	2	01 59,60	12: Twelve Years 13: Thirteen Years 14: Fourteen Years 15: Fifteen Years 16: Sixteen Years 17: Seventeen Years	61
137	x(137) 43,423	Grade in School	SI	1	06 1	7:Seventh Grade 9:Ninth Grade	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
138	x(138) 44	Performance IQ Greater Than Verbal	IQT/Vars 103,104	1	06 2	1: Yes 2: No	48
139	x(139) 45	IQ Above Mean	IQT/Var 102	1	06 3	1: Above 2: Below	48
140	x(140) 424	Father's Occupation: Continuous SES Rank Order*	SI	2	06 4,5	00: 0 . . . . . . 96: 96 99: Other (Jail, etc.)	50
141	x(141) 46-47	Father's Occupation: Grouped SES Rank Order	SI/Var 140	2	06 6,7	01: 00-29 02: 30-49 03: 50-69 04: 70-79 05: 80-96 06: Other (99)	50
						ORDER: 01: 00-29 02: 30-49	49

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
142	x(142) 48-50, 511, 540	Father's Occupation: SES Type**	SI	2	06 8,9	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed	50
						ORDER A: 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Service 03: Skilled Operative 04: Craftsman	46
						ORDER B: 01,02: Unskilled Labor 03,04: Skilled Labor	46
143	x(143) 425	Mother's Occupation: Continuous SES Rank Order*	SI	2	06 10,11	00: 0 : : 96: 96 99: Other (Jail, etc.)	24
144	x(144) 51-52	Mother's Occupation: Grouped SES Rank Order	SI/Var 143	2	06 12,13	01: 00-29 02: 30-49 03: 50-69 04: 70-79 05: 80-96 06: Other (99)	24
						ORDER: 01: 00-29 02: 30-49	23

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
145	x(145) 53-54, 512,539	Mother's Occupation: SES Type**	SI	2	06 14,15	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed 11: At Home (With or Without ADC) ORDER: 01-04: Blue Collar 05-10: White Collar 11: At Home	60
146	x(191) 55, 426	Monthly PCI After Rent - Dichotomy	SI	1	06 71	1: Low ($17-46) 2: High ($47-148)	56
147	x(236) 56,415	Total IQ: WAIS or WISC	IQT	3	07 65,66 67	Numerical Scale Value(000...n) ORDER: 80-89 90-99 100-109 110+	48

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
201	x(237) 62-63	Sketch of Mother	Fam/1,3	1	07 69	1: Negative 2: Negative-Affective 3: Neutral 4: Positive-Affective ORDER: 1,2: Negative 3: Neutral 4: Positive	56
202	x(238) 64-65	Sketch of Father	Fam/1,3	1	07 70	1: Negative 2: Negative-Affective 3: Neutral 4: Positive-Affective ORDER: 1,2: Negative 3: Neutral 4: Positive	50
203	x(239) 66-67	What Mom Likes Most	Fam/14	1	07 71	1: Nothing Pleases Her 2: "Don't Do" Things 3: Things Helpful to Mom 4: Things Beneficial to FC ORDER: 1,2,3: Not for FC 4: Things Beneficial to FC	57

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
204	x(43) 68	Aspiration or Not - Mom	Fam/#4 of Var203	1		1: Non-Aspiration Oriented 2: Aspiration-Oriented 0: Doesn't Apply	
205	x(44) 69	What Mom Likes Most/ How Shown	Fam/14	1		1: Neutral (or Refrains From) 2: Unspecified 3: Positive-Material 4: Positive-Personal	
206	x(240) 70-71	What Dad Likes Most	Fam/14	1	07 72	1: Nothing Pleases Him 2: "Don't Do" Things 3: Things Helpful to Dad 4: Things Beneficial to FC ORDER: 1,2,3: Not for FC 4: Things Beneficial to FC	44
207	x(46) 72	Aspiration or Not - Dad	Fam/#4 of Var203	1		1: Non-Aspiration Oriented 2: Aspiration-Oriented 0: Doesn't Apply	
208	x(47) 73	Dad Likes Most/How Shown	Fam/14	1		1: Neutral (or Refrains From) 2: Unspecified 3: Positive-Material 4: Positive-Personal	
209	x(48) 74	Siblings Treated Different	Fam/17	1		1: Yes 2: Yes - With Acceptance 3: No 4: Yes - FC Favored	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR		SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
210	x(49) 75	When FC Is Sick		Fam/24c	1		1: Negative Parental Response 2: Neutral Parental Response 3: Positive Parental Response	
211	x(50) 76	Brings Good Report Card		Fam/24f	1		1: Negative Response 2: Neutral or No Response 3: Positive Material Response 4: Positive Personal Response	
212	x(51) 77	Brings Bad Report Card		Fam/24g	1		1: Excessive Anger or Punishment 2: Show of Dissatisfaction 3: Verbal Encouragement 4: Actual Material Help	
213	x(52) 78	Who Understands FC		Fam/26	1		0: No One 1: Non-Relative 2: Relative 3: Sibling 4: Parent	
214	x(53) 79	FC Would Like To Be Like		SC/13	1		0: No One 1: Non-Relative 2: Relative 3: Sibling 4: Parent	
215	x(54) 80	How Gets Along With Siblings		Fam/19	1		1: Doesn't Get Along With Any 2: Well With Some 3: Well With Most	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
216	x(55) 81	Closest Male	Fam/11	1		0: No One 1: Non-Relative 2: Relative 3: Sibling 4: Father	
217	x(56) 82	Loved Most By When Young	Fam/15	1		0: No One 1: Other Relative 2: Sibling 3: One of Two Parents in House 4: Both Parents in House or One If Only One in Home	
218	x(57) 83	How Love Shown	Fam/15	1		1: Don't Know 2: Lets FC Do What He Wants 3: Give FC Things 4: Caring, Affection, Justly Punished	
219	x(58) 84	Loved Most By Now	Fam/15	1		0: No One 1: Other Relative 2: Sibling 3: One of Two Parents in House 4: Both Parents in House or One If Only One in House	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
220	x(59) 85	How Love Shown Now	Fam/15	1		1: Don't Know 2: Lets FC Do What He Wants 3: Gives FC Things 4: Caring, Affection, Justly Punished	
221	x(60) 86	FC Loves Most Now	Fam/15	1		0: No One 1: Non-Relative 2: Other Relative 3: Sibling 4: One of Two Parents in House 5: All Parents in House	
222	x(61) 87	Why FC Loves	Fam/15	1		1: No One Else to Love 2: They Love Me 3: I Help Them 4: They Do Things for Me (Are Happy)	
223	x(64) 88-89,513	Adult Male Model Available	Fam/1,6, 8,10,11, 19,26 SC/13	1	02 29	0: No Adult Males 1: One Adult Male 2: Two Adult Males 3,4: Three or Four Adult Males 0: No Males 1-4: Males Available	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
224	x(65) 90-92	Nature of Male Model	Fam/1,6, 8,10,11, 19,26 SC/13	1	02 30	0: No One 1: Non-Relatives Only 2: Relatives Only 3: Father and Others 4: Father Only ORDER A: 0: No One 1,2: Not Father 3,4: Father ORDER B: 0: No One 1-4: Someone	61
225	x(66) 93-94, 514	Number of Males Chosen	Fam/3,5, 7,10,12	1	02 31	0: No Males 1: One Male 2: Two Males 3: Three Males 4: Four Males 5: Five Males ORDER: 0: No Males 1,2: Few Males 3-5: Many Males	57
226	x(67) 95-96	Favorite Aunt or Uncle	Fam/5a	1	02 32	0: Neither 1: Aunt 2: Both 3: Uncle ORDER: 0: Neither 1-3: Yes	41

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	VALUE OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
227	x(68) 97-99	Sees Uncle	Fam/5a	1	02 33	1: Out of House - Sees Seldom 2: In House - Sees Seldom 3: Out of House - Sees Frequently 4: In House - Sees Frequently ORDER A: 1,2: Seldom 3,4: Frequently ORDER B: 1,3: Out of House 2,4: In House	36
228	x(69) 100-101	FC Similar to in Family	Fam/6	1	02 34	0: No One 1: Female (Mother) 2: Male and Female 3: Male ORDER: 0: No One 1: Mother 2,3: Male	57
229	x(70) 102-104	If Similar to Male	Fam/6	1	02 35	1: Non-Relative 2: Other Relative 3: Uncle 4: Brother 5: Father Out of House 6: Father in House ORDER A: 1,2: Other 3,4: Uncle/Brother 5,6: Father ORDER B: 1-4: Other Male 5,6: Father	32

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
230	x(71) 105-106	Who FC Would Be in Family	Fam/10	1	02 36	0: No One 1: Female (Mother) 2: Male and Female 3: Male ORDER: 0: No One 1: Mother 2,3: Male	55
231	x(72) 107-109	If Male	Fam/10	1	02 37	1: Non-Relative 2: Other Relative 3: Uncle 4: Brother 5: Father Out of House 6: Father in House ORDER A: 1,2: Other 3,4: Uncle/Brother 5,6: Father ORDER B: 1-4: Other Male 5,6: Father	40
232	x(73) 110-112	Closest Male	Fam/11	1	02 38	0: No One 1: Non-Relative 2: Other Relative 3: Uncle 4: Brother 5: Absent Father 6: Present Father ORDER A: 0: No One 1-6: Someone ORDER B: 0: No One 1-4: Someone Not Father 5,6: Father	58

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
233	x(74) 113-116	Who Understands FC	Fam/26	1	02 39	0: No One 1: Female 2: Male and Female 3: Male	61
						ORDER A: 0: No One 1: Female 2,3: Male ORDER B: 0: No One 1,2,3: Some One ORDER C: 1: Female 2,3: Male	56
234	x(75) 117-119	If Male Understands	Fam/26	1	02 40	1: Other Non-Relative 2: Other Relative 3: Uncle 4: Brother 5: Absent Father 6: Present Father	40
						ORDER A: 1,2: Other 3,4: Uncle/Brother 5,6: Father ORDER B: 1-4: Other Male 5,6: Father	
235	x(62) 427	Family Support Raw Score	Fam/Vars 201,202, 203,205, 206,208-222	2	02 26,27	Numerical Scale Value (00...n)	60

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
236	x(63) 120	Support Score Rank	Fam/Var 235	1	02 28	7th Grade: 1: 69 & Below (Low) 2: 71-78 (Medium) 3: 80 or Above (High) 9th Grade: 1: 67 or Below (Low) 2: 70-75 (Medium) 3: 76 & Above (High)	60
237	x(146) 121,428	Quality of Family Life	Fam/All Items, Esp. 18, 20, 23a, 23b	1	06 17	1: Excessively Stressful Family Situation 2: Average Family Situation 3: Above Average Family Situation	60
238	x(147) 122-124	Who Is Male in House	Fam/1 SI	1	06 18	0: No Male 1: Mother's Boyfriend 2: Stepfather 3: Father Present ORDER A: 0: No Male 1,2,3: Some Male ORDER B: 0,1,2: Father Absent 3: Father Present	60
239	x(148) 125	FC Relates With Man in House	Fam/1,3a, 11,other relevant items	1	06 19	1: Negative Feelings 2: Neutral Feelings 3: Positive Feelings	41

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
240	x(149) 126	FC Relates with Dad In or Out	Fam/1,3a, 11, Other Relevant Items	1	06 20	1: Negative 2: Neutral 3: Positive	46
241	x(150) 127-129, 429	Number of Close Males	Fam/5a, 10, 11, 26 SC/13	1	06 21	0: 0 Males 1: 1 Male 2: 2 Males 3: 3 Males 4: 4 Males ORDER A: 0: No Males 1-4: Some Males ORDER B: 0: No Males 1,2: Few Males 3,4: Many Males	61
242	x(151) 130	Who Are Close Males	Fam/5a, 10,11,26 SC/Var 601	1	06 22	1: Includes No Relatives 2: Includes Mom's Boyfriend or Other Relatives 3: Includes Step-father 4: Includes Father	50
243	x(152) 131,430	Father Present or Not	Fam/1,3	1	06 23	1: Father Absent 2: Father Present	61
244	x(153) 132	If Present Is Dad Available	Fam/1,3, 16,23b	1	06 24	1: No 2: Yes	31

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
245	x(154) 133,431	FC Relations With Dad In or Out	Fam/1,3, 16,23b	1	06 25	1: Negative 2: Neutral 3: Positive	46
246	x(155) 134	Nature of Close to Dad	Fam/1,3, 16,23b	1	06 26	1: Togetherness 2: Understanding and Togetherness	27
247	x(156) 135-136, 515	Dad Out FC Sees How Often	Fam/3a	1	06 27	1: Never 2: Almost Never 3: Few Times a Year 4: Once/Month 5: Twice/Month ORDER: 1,2,3: Less Often 4,5: More Often	30
248	x(157) 137,432	Dad Absent How Long	Fam/3a	1	06 28	1: Since FC's Infancy 2: Since FC's Childhood 3: Since FC's Adolescence	28
249	x(158) 138	Father Surrogate in House	Fam/1	1	06 29	1: Mother's Boyfriend 2: Step-father	10
250	x(159) 139	FC Relates With Dad Surrogate	Fam/1,3, 16,23b	1	06 30	1: Negative 2: Neutral 3: Positive	10

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
251	x(160) 140	Quality of Close to Dad Surrogate	Fam/1,3, 16,23b	1	06 31	1: Togetherness 2: Understanding and Togetherness	5
252	x(161) 141	Other Close Males	Fam/5a,10, 11,26 SC/Var 601	1	06 32	1: Non-Relatives 2: Semi-Relatives (e.g., Mom's Boyfriend) 3: Relatives	39
253	x(162) 142	Quality of Close to Other Men	Fam/5a,10, 11,26 SC/Var 601	1	06 33	1: Togetherness 2: Understanding and Togetherness	39
254	x(163) 143-144	Mom Wants FC to Be	Fam/27	1	06 34	1: Doesn't Know 2: Just Work Hard - Survive 3: Whatever FC Wants 4: Get Ahead - Be Somebody 5: Go to College 6: Specific Occupation	60
						ORDER: 1: Doesn't Know 3: What FC Wants 5,6: College or Occupation	54
255	x(164) 145-146	Dad Wants FC to Be	Fam/27	1	06 35	1: Doesn't Know 2: Just Work Hard - Survive 3: Whatever FC Wants 4: Get Ahead - Be Somebody 5: Go to College 6: Specific Occupation	43
						ORDER: 1-5: Non Specific 6: Specific Occupation	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMN	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
256	x(165) 147,433	FC Has Extended Family	Fam/4a, 5a,5c SI	1	06 36	1: Comes From Extended Family 2: Does Not Come From Extended Family	61
401	x(37) 57	Intends to Marry	FF/2	1	02 1	0: Don't Know 1: No Intention to Marry 2: Too Young to Know 3: Conflicted 4: Intends to Marry	60
402	x(38) 58-59	Marriage Attitude	FF/2	1	02 2	1: Negative 2: Non-committal 3: Conflicted 4: Positive ORDER: 1,2,3: Negative, Unsure 4: Positive	56
403	x(39) 60-61	Reasons Not to Marry	FF/2	1		0: Don't Know 1: Doesn't Want Kids 2: Too Restrictive Socially 3: Costs Too Much - Would Have to Work Too Hard 4: Too Much Trouble 5: Dislikes Women 6: No Reason Not to Marry ORDER: 1,6: Don't Know 2,3,4: Too Much Trouble, Responsibility, Pressure 5: Dislikes Women	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
301	x(76) 148	First Choice Job	Work/1	2	03 1,2	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Worker 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional - Unspecified 15: Minor Professional - Adventure 25: Minor Professional - Science 35: Minor Professional - Government - White Collar 45: Minor Professional - Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	60
302	x(77) 149,434	Perception First Job Choice	Work/1-6	1	03 3	1: Vague, Uninformed 2: Mixed 3: Clear, Informed	59

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
303	x(78) 150	Second Choice Job	Work/9	2	03 4,5	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	55

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
304	x(79) 151	Father Job Choice for FC	Work/7	2	03 6,7	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	53

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
305	x(80) 152	Mom Job Choice for FC	Work/7	2	03 8,9	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	58

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
306	x(81) 153	Father Negative Job Choice for FC	Work/7	2	03 10,11	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	44

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
307	x(82) 154	Mom Negative Job Choice for FC	Work/7	2	03 12,13	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	50

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
308	x(83) 155	FC Negative Job Choice	Work/13	2	03 14,15	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	59

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
309	x(84) 156	FC Ideal Job Choice	Work/2	2	03 16,17	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade -Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	60

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
310	x(85) 157	Father's Job	Work/1	2	03 18,19	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	47

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
311	x(86) 158	Job Choice Discrepancy: FC-Father	Wk/1,7	1	03 20	1: FC Lower Than Parent 2: FC Same As Parent 3: FC Higher Than Parent	53
312	x(87) 159	Job Choice Discrepancy: FC-Mom	Wk/1,7	1	03 21	1: FC Lower Than Parent 2: FC Same As Parent 3: FC Higher Than Parent	58
313	x(88) 160	Job Status: FC-Father	Wk/1,7	1	03 22	1: Father Higher 2: FC Same As Father 3: FC Higher	49
314	x(89) 161,435	Would FC Want Dad's Job	FamWork/1	1	03 23	1: No 2: Maybe 3: Yes	48
315	x(90) 162-163, 436	Dad Feels About His Job	FamWork/ 1,3	1	03 24	1: Dissatisfied 2: Satisfied, with Qualifications or Regrets 3: Very Satisfied ORDER: 1,2: Dissatisfied 3: Satisfied	41
	x(91)	Dummy Field					
316	x(241) 437	FC 1st Job Choice: Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/1	2	08 1,2	00: 0 . . . . 96: 96	59

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
317	x(242) 164-165	FC First Job Choice: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 316	1	08 3	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96 ORDER: 1,2: 00-49 3-5: 50-96	59
318	x(243) 166-167, 438,538	FC 1st Job Choice: SES Type**	Work/1	2	08 4,5	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional -Self-employed 11: Unemployed, Bum, Drop-out 12: Millionaire, President, Wise Man, "City of My Own" ...etc. ORDER: 03,04: Craftsman, Operative 05,06: Clerical 07,08: Manager 09,10: Professional	59
319	x(244) 439	FC 2nd Job Choice Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/1	2	08 6,7	00: 0 : : 96: 96	54

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
320	x(245) 168-170	FC Second Job Choice: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 319	1	08 8	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96 ORDER A: 1,2: 0-49 3-5: 50-96 ORDER B: 1: 0-29 2: 30-49 .3: 50-69 4,5: 70-96	54
321	x(246) 171-172, 440,537	FC 2nd Job Choice: SES Type**	Work/9	2	08 9,10	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed 11: Unemployed, Bum, Drop-out 12: Millionaire, President, Wise Man, "City of My Own," ...etc. 13: Crime	54
						ORDER: 01,02: Unskilled 03: Skilled 04: Craftsman 07,08: Manager 09,10: Professional	52

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
322	x(247) 441	Father Job Choice for FC: Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/7	2	08 11,12	00: 0 : : 96: 96 99: Other	43
						ORDER: 00: 0 : : 96: 96	29
323	x(248) 173-174	Father Job Choice for FC: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 322	1	08 13	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96 6: Other (99)	43
						ORDER: 1,2: 00-49 3-5: 50-96	29

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
324	x(249) 175-176, 516,536	Father Job Choice for FC: SES Type**	Work/7	2	08 14,15	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed 11: Anything Good or That Pays Well,Something, Like Father, Go to College 12: Anything FC Wants 14: Never Said ORDER: 01,03,04: Graftsman 05: Salesman 08,09,10: Professional 11,12: Anything Good 14: Never Said	43
325	x(250) 442	Mother Job Choice for FC: Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/7	2	08 16,17	00: 0 . . . . 96. 96 99: Other	52
						ORDER: 00: 0 . . . . 96: 96	28

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
326	x(251) 177-178	Mother Job Choice for FC: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 325	1	08 18	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96 6: Other (99)	52
						ORDER: 1,2: 00-49 3-5: 50-96	28
327	x(252) 179-180, 517,535	Mother Job Choice for FC: SES Type**	Work/7	2	08 19,20	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed 11: Anything Good or That Pays Well, Something, Like Mother, Go to College 12: Anything FC Wants 14: Never Said	52
						ORDER: 01,03,04: Craftsman 05: Salesman 08,09,10: Professional 11,12: Anything Good 14: Never Said	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
328	x(253) 443	Father Negative Job Choice for FC: Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/7	2	08 21.22	00: 0 : : 96: 96 99: Other	26
						ORDER: 00: 0 : : 96: 96	13
329	x(254) 181-182	Father Negative Job Choice for FC: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 328	1	08 23	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96	18
						ORDER: 1,2: 00-49 3-5: 50-96	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
330	x(255) 183-184, 518,534	Father Negative Job Choice for FC: SES Type**	Work/7	2	08 24,25	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed 11: Unemployed, Bum, Drop-out 12: Low Status or "Nobody" Job 13: Crime 14: Never Said	27
						ORDER: 01,02: Unskilled 04: Craftsman 11,12,13: Low Status 14: Never Said	26
331	x(256) 444	Mother Negative Job Choice for FC: Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/7	2	08 26,27	00: 0 96: 96 99: Other	44
						ORDER: 00: 0 : : 96: 96	33

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
332	x(257) 185-186	Mother Negative Job Choice for FC: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 331	1	08 28	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96 ORDER: 1,2: 00-49 3-5: 50-96	33
333	x(258) 187-188, 519,533	Mother Negative Job Choice for FC: SES Type**	Work/7	2	08 29,30	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed 11: Unemployed, Bum, Drop-out 12: Low Status or "Nobody" Job 13: Crime 14: Never Said ORDER: 01,02: Unskilled 03,04: Craftsman 06,09,10: White Collar, Professional 11,12,13: Low Status 14: Never Said	44

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
334	x(259) 445	FC Negative Job Choice: Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/7	2	08 31,32	00: 0 . . 96: 96	59
335	x(260) 189-190	FC Negative Job Choice: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 334	1	08 33	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96 ORDER: 1,2: 00-49 3-5: 50-96	59
336	x(261) 191-192, 520,532	FC Negative Job Choice: SES Type**	Work/7	2	08 34,35	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional-Salaried 10: Professional-Self-employed 11: Unemployed, Bum, Dropout 12: Low Status or "Nobody" Job 13: Crime 14: President	59
						ORDER: 01,02: Unskilled 03,04: Craftsman 05,08,09,10: White Collar, Professional	58

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
337	x(262) 193-195	FC Negative Job Choice Reasons	Work/7	2	08 36,37	01: Dangerous: Not Upwardly-Mobile 02: Dangerous: Upwardly-Mobile 03: Low Status, Undignified, Dirty, Hard Work (Not Upwardly Mobile) 04: Too Much Ability or Responsibility Required, Hard Work (Upwardly-Mobile) 05: 01 and 02 06: 01 and 03 07: 01 and 04 08: 02 and 03 09: 03 and 04 10: 01 and 02 and 04 11: 01 and 03 and 04 ORDER A: 01,02, 05-08, 10,11: Danger 03,04,09: No Danger	55
						ORDER B: 01,03: Not Upwardly Mobile 02,04: Upwardly Mobile	38

CODEBOOK VAR. #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
338	x(263) 196-197	FC Negative Job: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 334	1	08 38	1: Low (00-29) 2: Medium (30-64) 3: High (65-96) 4: Low and Middle or High 5: Middle and High	59
						ORDER: 1: Low 2: Medium 3: High	44
339	x(264) 198-199	Father Negative Job Choice for FC: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 328	1	08 39	1: Low (00-29) 2: Medium (30-64) 3: High (65-96) 4: Low and Middle or High 5: Middle and High	22
						ORDER: 1: Low 2: Medium 3: High	20
340	x(265) 200-201	Mother Negative Job Choice for FC: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 331	1	08 40	1: Low (00-29) 2: Medium (30-64) 3: High (65-96) 4: Low and Middle or High 5: Middle and High	40
						ORDER: 1: Low 2: Medium 3: High	34

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
341	x(266) 446	FC Ideal Job: Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/2	2	08 41,42	00: 0 96: 96 99: Other	58
						ORDER: 00: 0 : : 96: 96	46
342	x(267) 202-203	FC Ideal Job: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 341	1	08 43	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96	46
						ORDER: 1,2: 00-49 3-5: 50-96	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
343	x(268) 204-205, 521,531	FC Ideal Job: SES Type**	Work/2	2	08 44,45	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed 11: Unemployed, Bum, Drop-out 12: Millionaire, President, Wise Man, "City of My Own," ...etc.	58
						ORDER: 01,04: Craftsman 05,07,08: Manager 09,10: Professional 12: Millionaire, President	57
344	x(269) 447	Father's Job: Continuous SES Rank Order*	Work/1	2	08 46,47	00: 0 . . 96: 96	46

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
345	x(270) 206-207	Father's Job: Grouped SES Rank Order	Work/Var 344	1	08 48	1: 00-29 2: 30-49 3: 50-69 4: 70-79 5: 80-96	46
						ORDER: 1,2: 00-49 3-5: 50-96	
346	x(271) 208-209, 529,530	Father's Job: SES Type**	Work/1	2	08 49,50	01: Laborer (Unskilled) 02: Service 03: Operative (Skilled) 04: Craftsman 05: Clerical 06: Salesman 07: Proprietor 08: Manager 09: Professional - Salaried 10: Professional - Self-employed	46
						ORDER: 01,02: Unskilled 03: Operative 04: Craftsman	44
347	x(272) 210,448	FC Job Grouped SES Discrepancy: FC1 - Father	Work/Vars 317 & 323	1	08 51	1: FC Lower Than Parent 2: FC Same as Parent 3: FC Higher Than Parent	38
348	x(273) 211,449	Job Grouped SES Discrepancy (Status): FC1 - Father's Job	Work/Var 317 SI/Var 141	1	08 52	1: FC Lower Than Parent 2: FC Same as Parent 3: FC Higher Than Parent	55

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
349	x(274) 212,450	FC Job Grouped SES Discrepancy: FC1 - Mother	Work/Vars 317 & 326	1	08 53	1. FC Lower Than Parent 2. FC Same as Parent 3. FC Higher Than Parent	33
350	x(275) 213,451	FC Job Grouped SES Discrepancy: FC1 - FC Ideal	Work/Vars 317 & 342	1	08 54	1. Ideal Lower Than First Choice 2. First Choice Lower Than Ideal 3. First Choice Same as Ideal	57
351	x(276) 214,522	Millionaire - Wise - President	Work/1,2	1	08 55	1. No 2. Somewhat 3. Yes	58
352	x(277) 215-216, 452	Could FC Be Ideal?	Work/2	1	08 56	1 Doesn't Know, Maybe Probably 2. No 3. Yes ORDER 2. No 1. Don't Know 3. Yes	55

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
353		Source of Reasons: If No (Why FC Cannot Be Ideal)	Work/2	1		1: Internal-Constitutional Make-up 2: Internal-Practice, Hard Work 3: External-Luck, Money 4: External-Social Conditions 5: Unspecifiable (If I Wanted To," "If I Tried," "If I Were Good Enough")	
354		Source of Reasons: If Yes (Why FC Can Be Ideal)	Work/2	1		1: Internal-Constitutional Make-up 2: Internal-Practice, Hard Work 3: External-Luck, Money 4: External-Social Conditions 5: Unspecifiable ("If I Wanted To," "If I Tried," "If I Were Good Enough")	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
501	x(92) 217-218, 453	FC School Expectations	Schl/24	1	04 1	0: Don't Know or No Answer 1: Very Low (Drop-out) 2: Low (Some High School) 3: Medium (Graduate High School) 4: High (Any College)	48
						ORDER: 1,2: Drop-out - Fail 3: Graduate High School 4: Any College	46
502	x(93) 219-220, 454	FC School Aspirations	Schl/24	1	04 2	0: Don't Know or No Answer 1: Very Low (Drop-out) 2: Low (Some High School) 3: Medium (Graduate High School) 4: High (Any College)	53
						ORDER: 1,2: Dropout - Fail 3: Graduate High School 4: Any College	
503	x(94) 221,455	FC Discrepancy Between Aspirations and Expectations	Schl/24	1	04 3	1: Expectations Higher 2: Aspirations Same as Expectations 3: Aspirations Higher	48
504	x(95) 222	FC College Orientation	Schl/24e, f,g	1	04 4	1: Negative 2: Mixed or Unclear 3: Positive	50

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
505	x(96) 223	Has FC Thought About College	Schl/24e	1	04 5	1: Would Not Like to Go 2: Unsure 3: Yes	49
506	x(97) 224	Does FC Want College	Schl/24e, f	1	04 6	1: Would Not Like to Go, Not Sure 2: Yes	49
507	x(98) 225	Does FC Have the Ability for College	Schl/24f	1	04 7	1: No 2: Not Sure 3: Yes	37

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
508	x(99) 226	FC Knows About College	Schl/24f, g,h,i IR	1	04 8	1: Vague, Uninformed 2: Mixed 3: Clear and Informed	40
509		How to Get Into College	Schl/24i	1	04 9	0: Not Sure 1: More "Brains" 2: Better School or Teachers 3: Certain Courses 4: Good Grades 5: Hard Work 6: Money	
510		What Would Prevent College	Schl/24j	1	04 10	o: Not Sure 1: Not Smart Enough 2: Poor School or Teachers 3: Lack of Some Courses 4: Grades in High School 5: Not Working Hard 6: Money 7: Conduct 8: Adult Responsibilities 9: Nothing	
511		Teacher and Parent School Expectations	Schl/20b, 21c	1	04 11	0: Not Sure 1: Very Low 2: Low 3: Medium (Will Graduate High School) 4: High (Any College)	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMNS NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
512	x(100) 227-228	Teacher School Expectations for FC	Schl/20b	1	04 12	0: Not Sure 1: Very Low 2: Low 3: Medium (Will Graduate High School) 4: High (Any College)	44
513	x(101) 229-230	Parent School Expectations for FC	Schl/21c	1	04 13	0: Not Sure 1: Very Low 2: Low 3: Medium (Will Graduate High School) 4: High (Any College)	46
514	x(102) 231	FC-Parent Discrepancy: School Expectations	Schl/24b, 21c	1	04 14	1: Parents Higher 2: Parents Same as FC 3: FC Higher	44

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
515	x(103) 232	FC-Teacher Discrepancy: School Exepctations	Schl/24b, 20b	1	04 15	1: Teachers Higher 2: Teachers Same as FC 3: FC Higher	43
516	x(104) 233	FC School Expectations: Self-Peer Discrepancy	Schl/24b, 22b	1	04 16	1: Peers Higher 2: Peers Same as FC 3: FC Higher	45
517	x(105) 234-235	FC School Expectations for Peers	Schl/22b	1	04 17	0: Don't Know or No Answer 1: Very Low (Dropout) 2: Low (Some High School) 3: Medium (Graduate High School) 5: High (Any College)	47
						ORDER: 1,2: Dropout - Fail 3: Graduate High School School 4: Any College	44

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
518	x(106) 236-238, 456	June 1967 Grades	SR	1	04 18	0: Fail 1: D 2: C 3: B-,B 4: B+,A 5: Dropout	56
						ORDER A: 0,5: Fail or Dropout 1: D 2: C 3,4: B and Up	
						ORDER B: 0: Fail 1: D 2: C 3,4: B and Above	
519	x(107) 239-241, 457	June 1968 Grades	SR	1	04 19	0: Fail 1: D 2: C 3: B-,B 4: B+,A 5: Dropout	50
						ORDER A: 0,5: Fail or Dropout 1: D 2: C 3,4: B and Up	
						ORDER B: 0: Fail 1: D 2: C 3,4: B and Above	40

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
520	x(103) 242-244, 458	June 1969 Grades	SR	1	04 20	0: Fail 1: D 2: C 3: B-,B 4: B+,A 5: Dropout	58
						ORDER A: 0,5: Fail or Dropout 1: D 2: C 3,4: B and Above	
						ORDER B: 0: Fail 1: D 2: C 3,4: B and Above	33
521	x(109) 245-246 459	Repeated Grade	SR	1	04 21	1: Once 2: Twice 3: Never	61
						ORDER: 3: Never 1: Once 2: Twice	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
522	x(110) 247-250, 460-61	Drop Out (Last Year in School)	SR	1	04 22	1: Seventh Grade 2: Eighth Grade 3: Ninth Grade 4: Tenth Grade 5: Eleventh Grade 6: Still In ORDER A: 1,2: Not Finish Junior High School 3: Finish Junior High School 4,5: Some High School 6: Still In ORDER B: 1-5: Dropout 6: Still In ORDER C: 1: Seventh Grade 2: Eighth Grade 3: Ninth Grade 4: Tenth Grade 5: Eleventh Grade	61
523	x(166) 251-252, 462	School Defiance	Schl/5 (Esp. 5b, g),8,11, 18	2	06 38,39	02: 02 (Once or Twice) : : 12: 12 (Often) ORDER A:02,03: Low Defiance 04-07: Medium Defiance 08-12: High Defiance ORDER B:02-05: Low Defiance 06-12: High Defiance	38

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
524	x(167) 253-254	Hookey	Schl/40	1	06 40	1: Never 2: Once or Twice 3: Often ORDER: 1: No Hookey 2,3: Yes Hookey	54
525	x(168) 255-257, 463	School Punishment	Schl/5 (Esp.5b, g),8,11, 18	1	06 41	1: No Punishment 2: Reprimand - Sent to Principal 3: Hit, Rattan 4: Suspended 5: Expelled ORDER A: 1,2: No or Mild Punishment 3: Hit 4,5: Suspended or Expelled ORDER B: 1-3: Not Suspended 4,5: Suspended	23
526	x(169) 258,464	Illegal Acts: Weighted Score	Peer/3,3c, 12,13	2	06 42,43	00: None 01: 1 : : : : 18: 18 ORDER: 00-02: Low Illegal Acts 03-06: Medium Illegal Acts 07-16: High Illegal Acts	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
527	x(170) 259-260, 465	Fighting	P eer/3aii, 4,11,13	1	06 44	0: None : : 4: Four ORDER A: 0: No Fighting 1,2: Low Fighting 3,4: High Fighting ORDER B: 0-2: Low Fighting 3,4: High Fighting	61
528	x(171) 261-262, 523	Stoned - Sex	Peer/3aii, aiii	1	06 45	0: None 1: One : : 8: Eight ORDER A: 0-2: Low Sex 3: Middle Sex 4-6: High Sex ORDER B: 0-3: Under Sex 4-6: Over Sex	61
529	x(172) 263-265, 466	Total Hot Water	Schl/Vars 523,526- 528	2	06 46,47	00: 0 : : 42: 42 ORDER A: 00-05: Low 06-11: Low Medium 12-16: High Medium 17-34: High ORDER B: 00-06: Low 07-13: Medium 14-34: High ORDER C: 00-[illegible]: Low [illegible]	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
530	x(173) 266-267, 467	Non-School Hot Water	Schl/Vars 526-528	2	06 48,49	00: 0 : : 30: 30	61
						ORDER A: 00-06: Low 07-16: Medium 17-22: High ORDER B: 00-07: Low 08-22: High	
531	x(189) 524	1969 Academic Grade Average	SR	2	06 68,69	00: 0 : : 30: 30 50: Dropout	57
						ORDER: 00: 0 : : 30: 30	34
532	x(190) 268-270, 468	1969 Academic Grade Average	SR	1	06 70	0: Fail 1: D 2: C 3: B-,B 5: Dropout	57
						ORDER A: 0,5: Fail, Dropout 1: D 2: C 3: B-,B	
						ORDER B: 0: Fail 1: D 2: C 3: B-,B	34

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
601	x(111) 271-272	Like to Grow Up Like	SC/13	1	04 37	0: No One 1: Female 2: Male and Female 3: Male ORDER: 0: No One 1: Female 2,3: Male	54
602	x(112) 273-274	If Male	SC/13	1	04 38	1: Other Non-Relative 2: Other Relative 3: Uncle 4: Brother 5: Father: Out of House 6: Father: In House	26
603	x(113) 275-276	Would Change Places With	SC/14a	1	04 39	1: Someone With Better Home Life 2: Someone Who's Good at Getting Things 3: Someone Who Stays Out of Trouble 4: Someone Who Has It Easy, Has More Fun 5: Wouldn't Change With Anyone ORDER: 1,2,3,4: Change 5: Stay	60

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
604	x(114) 277-279	Brainwash	SC/4	2	04 40,41	01: Doesn't Want to Change 02: Style or Way of Thinking-Personality 03: Maintaining Interpersonal Relations 04: Racial Attributes 05: School Achievement 06: Talents, Skills, Sports 07: Physical Attributes 08: Way With Girls 10: Stealing 11: Keep Defenses 12: Would Give In and Change ORDER A: 01: No Change 02,03,08: Style 04,07: Physical Characteristics 05,06: Achievement-Talents 10: Stealing 11: Keep Defenses 12: Would Change ORDER B: 01: No Change 02-11: Try to Keep 12: Would Change	59
605	x(115) 280,469	Source of Better At	SC/1b	1	04 42	1: Learn, Practice, Imitate 2: Natural Ability, Liking, Luck, Default	58

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
606		Content of Better At	SC/1a	2	04 43,44	01: School 02: Making Things and Fixing Things 03: Work, Jobs 04: Girls 05: Sports 06: Fighting 07: Stealing 08: Artistic Endeavor 10: Hobbies 11: Personal Characteristics	
607	x(116) 281-283, 470	Number of Better At	SC/1a	1	04 45	1: Nothing 2: Same As Other Boys His Age 3: Lists One to Three 4: Lists Four to Seven 5: Lists More Than Seven ORDER A: 1: Nothing 2: Same As Peer 3-5: Yes, Better ORDER [illegible]: 1,2: Not Better 3: Yes, Better 4,5: Lots Better	61
608	x(117) 284, 471	Source of Not Good At (Practice - Natural)	SC/1d	1	04 46	1: Practice, Effort, Imitate 2: Change Natural Trait, Develop Talent	53
609	x(118) 28 472	Can-Can't Change	SC/2	1	04 47	1: Yes 2: No	58

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS.	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
610		Content of Not Good At	SC/1c,2	2	04 48,49	01: Physical Attributes 02: Habits 03: School and Work 04: Get Smarter 05: Sports 06: Generalized Improvement 07: No Change 08: Reputation 10: Fantasy 11: Girls 12: Artistic Endeavor	
611	x(119) 286,473	Initiator-Reactor	SC/16	1	04 50	2: Predominantly Reactive 4: Predominantly Initiating	60
612	x(120) 287,525	Distinctions Between Others	SC/16	1	04 51	1: Minimal Differentiation (Few Distinctions) 2: Higher Degree of Differentiation (More Distinctions)	60

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
613	x(121) 288,526	Habits vs. Traits	SC/16	1	04 52	1: Describes Self in Terms of Habit or Act 2: Describes Self in Terms of Traits	60

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
614	x(122) 239,527	Introspectiveness	SC/16	1	04 53	1: Internal States, Motives, Emotions Not Mentioned (Low Introspectiveness) 2: Internal States, Motives, Emotions Mentioned (Introspectiveness)	60
615	x(174) 290,474	Reactor-Can/ Reactor-Can't	SC/2,16	1	06 51	1: Reactors Who Can Change 2: Reactors Who Can't Change	40
616	x(175) 291,475	Can-Practice/ Can't-Natural	SC/1d,2	1	06 52	1: Can Change and Believes in Need for Practice 2: Can't Change and Believes in Need for Natural Talent	44
617	x(176) 292-295, 476	Race of Famous Model	SC/17	1	06 53	1: No Model 2: White 3: White Because of What He Did for Negro 4: Black	61
						ORDER A: 1: No Model 2-4: Has Model ORDER B: 1: No Model 2,3: White 4: Black	
						ORDER C: 2,3: White 4: Black	47

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
618	x(177) 296	Nature of Famous Model	SC/17	1	06 54	1: No Model 2: Sport, Celebrity, Money 3: Good Works, Science, Politics 4: Charisma, Power, Fame	61
619	x(178) 297-299	Mom Would Have FC Change	SC/5	1	06 55	0: Don't Know 1: Change in Basic Nature 2: Major Change in Social Behavior 3: Minor Change in Social Behavior 4: No Change or Extremely Minor ORDER A: 1: Basic Change 2,3: Social Change 0,4: No Change ORDER B: 0,4: No Change 1-3: Change	57

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
620	x(179) 300-301	Would FC Want to Change	SC/5	1	06 56	1: No 2: Maybe 3: Yes ORDER: 1,2: No 3: Yes	44
621	x(180) 302-304	Father Would Have FC Change	SC/6	1	06 57	0: Don't Know 1: Change in Basic Nature 2: Major Change in Social Behavior 3: Minor Change in Social Behavior 4: No Change or Extremely Minor ORDER A: 1: Basic Change 2,3: Social Change 0,4: No Change ORDER B: 0,4: No Change 1-3: Change	48
622	x(181) 305-306	Would FC Want to Change	SC/6	1	06 58	1: No 2: Maybe 3: Yes ORDER: 1,2: No 3: Yes	26

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
623	x(182) 307-309	Siblings Would Have FC Change	SC/7	1	06 59	0: Don't Know 1: Change in Basic Nature 2: Major Change in Social Behavior 3: Minor Change in Social Behavior 4: No Change or Extremely Minor ORDER A: 1: Basic Change 2,3: Social Change 0,4: No Change ORDER B: 0,4: No Change 1-3: Change	57
624	x(183) 310-312	Friend Would Have FC Change	SC/8	1	06 60	0: Don't Know 1: Change in Basic Nature 2: Major Change in Social Behavior 3: Minor Change in Social Behavior 4: No Change or Extremely Minor ORDER A: 1: Basic Change 2,3: Social Change 0,4: No Change ORDER B: 0,4: No Change 1-3: Change	51

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
625	x(184) 313	They Would Change FC for Worse	SC/8	1	06 61	1: No 2: Yes	61
626	x(185) 314,477	Self Concept	SC/1,3,4: Vars611, 609,608, 614,612 2:Vars611, 609,608	1	06 62	1: Reactors-Can't-Natural-Low Introspectiveness-Few Distinctions 2: Reactors-Can-Practice 3: Residual 4: Initiators-Can-Practice-Introspectiveness-Distinctions	60
627	x(186) 315,478	Self-Esteem	SC/1a,1c, 2,3,5,6, 14a	2	06 63,64	01: 1 : : 11: 11 ORDER: 01-05: Low 06-08: Medium 09-11: High	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
628	x(137) 316-317, 479	Strategic Style (Primary Mode)	IR	1	06 65	1: Expressive: Cool Guy 2: Expressive: Smart Guy 3: Tough Guy 4: Conformist 5: Cautious, Withdrawn ORDER: 5: Withdrawn 4: Conformist 1: Cool Guy 2: Smart Guy 3: Tough Guy	60

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
629	x(188) 318-319	Strategic Style (Secondary Mode)	IR	1	06 66	1: Expressive: Cool Guy 2: Expressive: Smart Guy 3: Tough Guy 4: Conformist 5: Cautious, Withdrawn ORDER: 5: Withdrawn 4: Conformist 1: Cool Guy 2: Smart Guy 3: Tough Guy	10
630	x(278) 320	Changes Mother Wants	SC/5	1	08 58	0: Don't Know 1: No Change 2: Minor Change 3: Major Social Change 4: Basic Change	57
631	x(279) 321	Changes Father Wants	SC/6	1	08 59	0: Don't Know 1: No Change 2: Minor Change 3: Major Social Change 4: Basic Change	48
632	x(280) 322	Changes Siblings Want	SC/7	1	08 60	0: Don't Know 1: No Change 2: Minor Change 3: Major Social Change 4: Basic Change	55

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
633	x(281) 323	Changes Peers Want	SC/8	1	08 61	0: Don't Know 1: No Change 2: Minor Change 3: Major Social Change 4: Basic Change	52
634	x(282) 324,480	Average Change: Peers and Siblings	SC/Vars 632,633	2	08 62,63	00: 0 : : 40: 40 ORDER: 00-29: Minor Change 30-40: Major Change	59
635	x(283) 325,481	Average Change: All Reference Figures	SC/Vars 630-633	2	08 64,65	00: 0 : : 40: 40 ORDER: 00-29: Minor Change 30-40: Major Change	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
636	x(284) 326,482	Does FC Want Same Changes as Parents	SC/5,6, Var637	3	08 66,67, 68	015: 15 : : 120: 120 ORDER: 015-060: Little Change 080-120: Wants Change	46
637	x(285) 327,483	Average Changes Parents Want	SC/Vars 630,631	2	08 69,70	00: 0 : : 40: 40 ORDER: 00-29: Minor Change 30-40: Major Change	59
638	x(286) 328	Discrepancy Between Parent and Peer Changes	SC/Vars 634,637	1	08 71	1: Parents and Peers Want Major Change 2: Parents and Peers Want Minor Change 3: Parents-Major; Peers-Minor 4: Parents-Minor; Peers-Major	57

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
701	x(123) 329-330	What Jobs Blacks Can't Get	Work/11	2	05 1,2	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade - Service 04: Self-employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government, White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime ORDER: 00: Unsure 01-02: Laborer 03: Trade-Service 04: White Collar 05,15, 25,35,45: Minor Professional 06-07: Entrepreneur 08,10: Unemployed-Crime	57

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
702		Good Jobs With No Blacks	Work/12	2	05 3,4	00: Don't Know, Not Sure 01: Unskilled Labor 02: Semi-skilled 03: Trade-Service 04: Self-Employed or Office 05: Minor Professional: Unspecified 15: Minor Professional: Adventure 25: Minor Professional: Science 35: Minor Professional: Government-White Collar 45: Minor Professional: Military 06: Major Professional 07: Millionaire 08: Unemployed 10: Crime	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
703	x(124) 331-332, 484	Sense of Racial Identity (Militant)	Race/54-59	1	05 5	1: Negative 2: Non-committal/Neutral 3: Ambivalent/Conflicted 4: Positive ORDER: 2: Neutral 3: Conflicted 4: Positive	60
704	x(125) 333-334	Black Leader Killed	Race/8	1	05 6	1: Rationalization of Murder 2: No Comment or Feelings 3: Regret 4: Condemnation ORDER: 1,2: No Regrets 3,4: Deplores	60
705	x(126) 335-336	Reaction to Riots	Race/9	1	05 7	1: Basic Disapproval 2: No Comment or Feelings 3: Qualified Approval 4: Basic Approval ORDER: 1: Disapproval 2: No Reactions 3,4: Approval	58

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
706	x(127) 337-338	Not Take Pill to Become White	Race/10	1	05 8	1: Acceptance of Fate 2: No Differences, Don't Know 3: Likes Being Negro, Disadvantages to Being White 4: Definite Advantages to Being Negro ORDER: 1: Fatalism 2: No Differences 3,4: Likes Black	50
707	x(128) 339-340	Yes Take Pill	Race/10	1	05 9	1: To Avoid Shame of Being Black 2: Neutral - No Particular Reason 3: Personal Gain or Experience 4: Retaliation Against Whites - Group Gain ORDER: 1,2: No Positive Reason 3,4: Positive Reason	12
708	x(129) 341,485	Take Pill: Yes-No	Race/10	1	05 10	1: Yes 2: No	59
709	x(130) 342	Would Not Push Button to Make Everyone Black	Race/15	1	05 11	1: Negroes Are Bad 2: Acceptance of Fate, Status Quo 3: Changing Skin Won't Change People 4: Positive Value in Racial Difference	32

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
710	x(131) 343-344	Would Push Button	Race/15	1	05 12	1: Negative 2: End of Violence - Peace 3: Exploratory - Curiosity 4: Negores Are Better, Make Whites Suffer, Bring Peace ORDER:1,2: Negative Reason 3,4: Positive Reason	29
711	x(132) 345,486	Push Button: Yes-No	Race/15	1	05 13	1: Yes 2: No	58
712	x(133) 346	Black Power Feelings	Race/36	1	05 14	1: Basic Disapproval 2: Don't Know, No Comment 3: Ambivalence 4: Basic Approval	58

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
713	x(134) 347-349, 487	What Race Preferred	Race/40	1	05 15	0: Don't Know 1: White 2: Other (For Non-Race Related Reasons) 3: Colored (As Next Best to Negro) 4: Remain Black	57
						ORDER A: 0: Don't Know 1,2: White-Other 3,4: Colored	
						ORDER B: 1: White 2: Other 3,4: Colored	47
714	x(135) 350,488	Self-Perceived Relative Skin Shade	Race/26	1	05 16	1: 1 (Lighter) : : : : 6: 6 (Darker)	60
						ORDER: 1,2: Lighter 3: Same 4-6: Darker	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
800	x(192) 351-353	Race Discussed at Home	Race/7	1	07 1	0: No Discussions 1: Parents Talk (Attitudes Unknown) 2: Parents Talk - But Uninvolved 3: Parents Talk - Discouraged, Fatalistic 4: Parents Talk - Involved ORDER A: 0: No Discussion 1-4: Yes, Discussion ORDER B: 0-3: Uninvolved 4: Involved	57
801	x(193) 354-355	FC Agrees With Parents	Race/7	1	07 2	0: FC Won't Join In 1: FC Less Involved 2: FC More Involved 3: FC Agrees With Parents	33
					ORDER:	0,1: FC Less Involved 2: FC More Involved 3: FC Agrees	
802	x(194) 356	Negro Killed: Parents Feel	Race/8	1	07 3	0: FC Doesn't Know 1: Parents Against Negro's Actions 2: Parents Non-Committal or Ambivalent 3: Parents Agree with Negro's Actions	48

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
803	x(195) 357	FC Agrees With Parents	Race/8	1	07 4	1: FC Less Involved 2: FC More Involved 3: FC Agrees	39
804	x(196) 358	TV Riot: Parents Feel	Race/9	1	07 5	0: FC Doesn't Know 1: Parents Against Negroes' Actions 2: Parents Non-Committal or Ambivalent 3: Parents Agree With Negroes' Actions	37
805	x(197) 359	FC Agrees With Parents	Race/9	1	07 6	1: FC Less Involved 2: FC More Involved 3: FC Agrees	28
806	x(198) 360	Difference Between How Mom and Dad Feel	Race/7, 8,9	1	07 7	1: Mom More Involved 2: Dad More Involved 3: Parents Agree	26
807	x(199) 361	Knowledge of History, Art, and Science	Race/29, 30,31d, 31e,31f	1	07 8	1: Low (Knows 0-1 Figures) 2: High (Knows 2-8 Figures)	59
808	x(200) 362	Spontaneous Knowledge of Political Leaders	Race/30, 31c,32, 35	1	07 9	1:Low (Knows 0-1) 2: Medium (Knows 2-3) 3: High (Knows 4-7)	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
809	x(201) 363	Total Knowledge of Political Leaders	Race/30, 31c,32, 35	1	07 10	1: Low (Knows 1-3) 2: Medium (Knows 4-5) 3: High (Knows 6-12)	59
810	x(202) 364	Entertainment and Sports Figures	Race/29, 30,31a, 31b,32	1	07 11	1: Low (Knows 1-6) 2: Medium (Knows 7-15) 3: High (Knows 16-26)	59
811	x(203) 365	Knowledge of Negro Groups	Race/31c, 32,34	1	07 12	1: Low (Knows 0-1) 2: Medium (Knows 2-4) 3: High (Knows 5-9)	59
812	x(204) 528	Grand Total of Negro Knowledge	Race/Vars 807-811	2	07 13,14	00: 0 : : : : 44: 44	59
813	x(205) 366	Negro Knowledge Rank	Race/Var 812	1	07 15	1: Low (Raw Score of 0-15) 2: Medium (Raw Score of 16-25) 3: High (Raw Score of 26-44)	59

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
814	x(206) 367-368	Move in the White World: Environment	Race/24a	1	07 16	0: Don't Know 1: No 2: Depends 3: Yes	60
						ORDER: 1: No 2,3: Yes	59
815	x(207) 369-370	Move in the White World: School	Race/24b Schl/29	1	07 17	0: Don't Know 1: No 2: Depends 3: Yes	60
						ORDER: 1: No 2,3: Yes	59
816	x(208) 371-372	Move in the White World: Social Groups	Race/23, 24	1	07 18	1: No 2: Depends (1.5 and 2) 3: Yes (2.5 and 3)	60
						ORDER: 1: No 2,3: Yes	

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
817	x(209) 373-374	Move in the White World: Male Friends	Race/22, 24	1	07 19	0: Don't Know 1: No 2: Depends 3: Yes ORDER: 0,1: No 2,3: Yes	60
818	x(210) 489	Move in the White World: Raw Score	Race/22-24 Schl/29	3	07 20,21, 22	000: 0 : : 110: 110	59
819	x(211) 375-377	Move in the White World: Ranks	Race/Var 818	1	07 23	1: Low (4.0-5.5) 2: Medium (6.0-7.5) 3: High (8.0-10.5) ORDER A: 1,2: Not High 3: High ORDER B: 1: Low 2,3: Not Low	59

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
820	x(212) 378-379	Negro Guy Date White Girl	Race/12	1	07 24	0: Don't Know 1: No 2: Depends 3: Yes	58
						ORDER: 1,2: No 3: Yes	51
821	x(213) 380-381	Negro Girl Date White Guy	Race/13	1	07 25	0: Don't Know 1: No. 2: Depends 3: Yes	59
						ORDER: 1,2: No 3: Yes	49
822	x(214) 382	FC Against Contact With Whites: Physical Danger	Race/22-24 Schl/29	1	07 26	1: No 2: Yes	60

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
823	x(215) 383	FC Against Contact With Whites: Social Prejudice	Race/22-24 Schl/29	1	07 27	1: No 2: Yes	60
824	x(216) 384	FC Against Contact With Whites: Shame	Race/22-24 Schl/29	1	07 28	1: No 2: Yes	60
825	x(217) 385	FC Against Contact With Whites: Ideology	Race/22-24 Schl/29	1	07 29	1: No 2: Yes	60
826	x(218) 386-388, 490	Stereotyping	Race/16, 17	1	07 30	1: Yes 2: Says There's No Difference 3: Analytical Comments ORDER A: 1,3: Yes, Differences 2: No Differences ORDER B: 2: No Differences 3: Analytical 1: Stereotypes	60
827	x(219) 389	Qualities Given Blacks	Race/16, 17	1	07 31	1: Inferior 2: Neither, Neutral 3: Superior	41
828	x(220) 390	Qualities Given Whites	Race/16, 17	1	07 32	1: Inferior 2: Neither, Neutral 3: Superior	45

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
829	x(221) 391-392	Positive Race Identity	Race/Vars 826-828	1	07 33	1: Negative Race Identity (Superior Qualities Ascribed to Whites) 2: Lack of Positive Race Identity (No Black Superior Qualities) 3: Positive Race Identity (Analytical or Black Superior Qualities) ORDER: 1,2: No Positive 3: Positive	60
830	x(222) 393-394	Advantages of Race	Race/18	1	07 34	0: Don't Know 1: No Advantages 2: Physical Advantages and Compensating Benefits 3: Can Get Along in Ghetto 4: Stereotyped Behaviors 5: Exemplary Personalities ORDER: 0-2: Low Advantages 3-5: Not Low	59
831	x(223) 395-396	Are Negroes as Good as Whites	Race/6	1	07 35	1: Don't Know 2: Not as Good or I Wonder 3: Used to Wonder, or Others Wonder 4: Everyone is Same 5: Negroes Better ORDER: 1-3: Neither Equal Not Better 4,5: Negroes Same or Better	57

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
832	x(224) 397	Reasons for Negro Inferiority or Superiority	Race/6	1	07 36	1: Gives No Reasons 2: Talks About Discrimination or Lack of Opportunities That Lead FC and/or Others to See Negro Inferiority	57
833	x(225) 398-399	Feelings About Negro Inferiority	Race/6	1	07 37	0: Denial or Doesn't Think About It 1: Negroes Are Inferior 2: FC Thinks Negroes Are Inferior - Others Don't 3: FC Doesn't Think Negroes Are Are Inferior - Others Do 4: FC Doesn't Think Negroes Are Inferior ORDER: 0-2: Thinks Negroes Inferior 3,4: Negroes Not Inferior	56
834	x(226) 400-401	Wonders If Negroes Are as Good as Whites	Race/6	1	07 38	1: Yes 2: Unsure 3: No ORDER: 1: Yes 2,3: No	54

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
835	x(227) 402-403	Disadvantages of Being Negro	Race/19	1	07 39	1: More Than One 2: One 3: No Disadvantages or Don't Know ORDER: 1,2: Disadvantages 3: No Disadvantages	59
836	x(228) 404-405	Things Negroes Can't Do	Race/20	1	07 40	1: More Than One Thing 2: One Thing 3: Nothing (Same As Whites) or Don't Know ORDER: 0-2: Something 3: Nothing	53

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
837	x(229) 406-407	Life Differs for Negroes	Race/21	1	07 41	0: Don't Know 2: Worse for Negroes 2: Same for Both 3: Better for Negroes ORDER: 0,1: Worse for Negroes 2,3: Same orBetter	60
838	x(230) 408-409	Things Changing for Negroes	Race/37	1	07 42	0: Don't Know 1: Getting Worse 2: No Real Changes (Or There Used To Be Slavery) 3: Getting Better ORDER: 0-2: No Change 3: Change	59
839	x(231) 410-411	Jobs Negroes Can't Get	Work/11,12	1	07 43	1: Lists Several Jobs 2: President or Other Very High Status Official 3: No Jobs or Don't Know ORDER: 0-2: Some Jobs 3: No Jobs	58
840	x(232) 412,491	System Open-Closed	Race/Vars 835-839	1	07 44	1: System Closed (1.0-1.8) 2: System Open (2.0-3.0)	61

CODEBOOK VAR #	X-VALUE & OUTPUT VAR #	NAME OF VAR	SOURCE OF DATA	NUMBER OF COLUMNS	CARD & COLUMN NUMBERS	CODES FOR VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES
841	x(233) 413, 492	Combined Racial Identity	Race/Vars 703,829, 830	2	07 45,46	04: 4 : : 12: 12 ORDER: 1: Low (04-07) 2: High (08-12)	60
842	x(234) 493	Knowledge of Groups and Leaders	Race/30, 31c,32, 34,35	2	07 47,48	00: 0 : : 18: 18	59
843	x(235) 414	Knowledge of Groups and Leaders (Rank)	Race/Vars 809,811	1	07 49	1: Low (0-4 for 7th; 0-6 for 9th) 2: Medium (5-7 for 7th; 8-12 for 9th) 3: High (8-15 for 7th; 13-18 for 9th)	59

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR	119	1.000	.830**	.813**	-.152	.298	.090	-.119	.661**	.417**	-.107
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR	120	.830**	1.000	.355*	-.094	.106	.164	-.024	.631**	.377**	-.147
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR	121	.813**	.355*	1.000	-.152	.404**	-.009	-.173	.461**	.308*	.002
FAMILY SIZE	VAR	122	-.152	-.094	-.152	1.000	-.030	-.120	-.040	-.031	.114	.194
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR	123	.298	.106	.404**	-.030	1.000	.190	0.	.134	-.153	.202
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR	124	.090	.164	-.009	-.120	.190	1.000	.064	.212	-.010	-.210
ADC ASSISTED	VAR	125	-.119	-.024	-.173	-.040	0.	.064	1.000	.137	.005	.047
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR	126	.661**	.631**	.461**	-.031	.134	.212	.137	1.000	.169	-.026
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR	127	.417**	.377**	.308*	.114	-.153	-.010	.005	.169	1.000	-.097
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	128	-.107	-.147	.002	.194	.202	-.210	.047	-.026	-.097	1.000
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	129	.523*	.561*	.332	-.109	.109	.242	-.020	.458	.023	.136
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR	130	.010	-.010	.019	-.417**	.040	-.025	0.	-.082	.146	.013
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR	131	-.149	-.079	-.175	.108	.010	.170	-.074	.030	-.149	.013
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR	132	.164	.212	.034	.132	0.	.331*	-.137	.246	.205	-.120
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR	133	-.241	-.310*	-.093	.262*	-.158	.097	-.097	-.107	.014	-.058
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR	134	-.184	-.168	-.154	.242	-.077	-.044	-.466**	.016	.018	.031
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR	135	-.234	-.331	-.012	.033	.167	.292	.031	.011	-.069	.001
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR	136	.166	.272	.005	.539**	.004	-.224	.014	-.049	.222	-.260
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR	137	.071	.084	.039	-.181	.118	.104	.008	.052	-.257*	-.079
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR	138	.248	.184	.227	-.210	-.052	.063	.083	.316*	.185	.027
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR	139	.027	-.136	.175	.319*	-.073	.081	.121	.220	.186	.055
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR	140	-.076	-.150	.059	-.083	-.233	-.045	-.021	-.188	.012	.180
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	141	.304*	.271	.227	-.096	-.007	.087	-.100	.109	.168	-.225
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	142	.302*	.185	.307*	-.178	.050	.177	-.013	.034	.223	-.249
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	143	.171	.183	.095	.154	.027	-.023	-.205	.161	-.104	-.100
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	144	.165	.186	.074	.099	-.066	-.041	-.130	.059	.086	-.161
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	145	.379	.468*	.148	.247	.314	.098	-.001	.326	.073	.001
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	146	.098	.007	.157	.124	-.034	-.096	-.045	.468*	.023	.206
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	147	.417	.339	.380	-.292	-.122	.179	.051	.632*	.277	.283
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	148	-.034	-.134	.085	-.077	-.118	-.401*	.033	.099	-.139	-.030
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR	149	.227	.241	.148	.032	.067	.030	-.092	.209	-.123	.071
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	150	.091	.107	.042	.139	.234	-.163	.113	.125	-.036	-.203
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	151	-.012	-.131	.119	.260	-.270	-.301*	-.143	.027	-.137	.357*
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR	152	-.377*	-.450*	-.084	-.072	-.138	-.073	-.071	-.423*	.053	.156
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR	153	.057	.087	.015	-.208	-.105	.041	-.093	-.089	.071	-.586**
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR	154	.227	.263	.075	.151	-.136	.033	-.168	-.186	.030	-.163
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR	155	-.052	-.132	.031	-.080	.073	-.088	-.138	-.102	-.084	-.161
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR	156	-.274	-.074	-.392*	.080	-.060	-.156	-.188	-.118	-.286	.015
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR	157	.300	.327	.157	-.123	-.302	-.155	-.268	.327	.345*	-.122
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR	158	.334*	.330*	.214	-.283*	.180	-.049	-.189	.230	-.097	-.167
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR	159	-.046	-.054	-.001	-.095	.420**	.126	.140	-.075	-.407**	-.109
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR	160	.413**	.327*	.363*	-.229	.237	.241	-.210	.230	.106	.009
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR	161	.299	.354*	.128	-.187	.155	.143	-.300	.273	-.158	-.006
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	162	.312	.305	.243	-.237	.145	-.112	.098	.338	.042	-.083
REPEAT GRADE	VAR	163	.104	.135	.038	.083	.052	.039	-.016	-.017	.240	-.127
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR	164	.129	-.161	.442	.181	.015	.109	-.206	-.213	.799**	.357
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR	165	-.242	-.182	-.205	.297*	-.191	-.236	-.038	-.253	-.092	.054
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR	166	-.413**	-.305*	-.393**	.025	-.160	-.058	.110	-.332*	-.066	.050
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR	167	-.292*	-.187	-.300*	-.003	.023	.106	.190	-.229	-.220	.074
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR	168	-.317*	-.260	-.267	.161	-.094	-.075	.073	-.157	-.058	-.022

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128
FIGHTING	VAR	169	-.292*	-.383**	-.101	-.097	.138	-.009	.143	-.199	-.439**	.116
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	-.406**	-.369**	-.310*	.149	-.116	-.085	.109	-.296*	-.126	.049
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	-.336*	-.354*	-.201	.170	-.065	-.075	.091	-.237	-.151	.050
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.355	.350	.290	-.032	.158	-.067	.215	.372*	.144	.011
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	.093	-.051	.223	-.076	-.175	-.220	-.132	-.065	.010	-.138
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	-.593**	-.543**	-.448**	-.004	-.218	-.021	.210	-.319*	-.408**	-.097
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	-.027	-.016	-.020	-.073	-.048	.031	-.167	.071	-.017	-.010
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	.037	.109	-.042	.021	-.138	-.209	-.136	.019	.141	.024
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	.102	.147	.009	.036	.278	.242	.352**	.179	-.142	.218
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	.128	.353	-.121	0.	-.152	-.162	.099	.259	.100	.221
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	.147	.170	.073	-.032	-.045	-.201	-.286	-.013	.100	.061
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	.036	.025	.011	-.216	.121	.178	-.004	-.139	.035	.035
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	-.060	.005	-.116	.068	.229	.318*	.382**	.156	-.183	.093
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	-.118	-.018	-.191	.103	.020	.184	.140	-.041	.228	-.029
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	-.151	-.092	-.164	.172	.033	-.086	.326*	-.192	-.175	-.020
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	.165	.239	.044	-.204	.043	.088	.198	.187	.118	-.275
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	.126	.167	.041	-.211	.064	.008	.165	.012	.092	-.249
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	-.143	-.046	-.211	.137	-.240	-.317*	-.158	-.139	-.196	-.181
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	-.038	-.068	-.011	-.050	-.020	-.086	.081	-.046	.044	-.081
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	-.058	-.070	-.038	.002	-.032	-.138	.109	-.067	-.097	.123
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	.170	.099	.194	-.124	.050	-.244	-.209	.181	-.078	.077
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	-.027	.053	-.126	.044	.019	-.107	.137	-.002	-.005	-.142
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	-.013	-.075	.041	.046	-.096	.065	.070	.185	.021	-.003
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	-.019	.098	-.123	-.106	0.	-.049	-.035	-.044	.051	-.064
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	.409**	.492**	.179	-.102	-.079	-.019	.047	.119	.279*	-.193
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	-.156	-.117	-.131	-.064	.135	-.041	.123	-.150	.084	.194
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	-.023	-.074	.064	.196	.077	-.147	-.219	-.095	-.026	.134
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	-.025	.015	-.077	.016	-.054	-.132	.227	-.070	-.014	.318*
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	.329*	.396**	.133	.007	-.091	.192	-.041	.252	.545**	-.052
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	.756**	.823**	.410**	-.282	.201	.213	.050	.533**	.439**	-.000
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	.623**	.724**	.301*	-.060	.159	.216	-.130	.482**	.107	-.100
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	.439**	.709**	.025	.083	-.188	.088	.044	.432*	.190	-.049
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	.647**	.676**	.397**	-.005	.300	.197	-.208	.447**	.099	.076
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	.610**	.630**	.353*	-.117	.189	.199	-.204	.433*	-.003	-.115
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.354*	.571**	-.016	.065	-.064	-.093	.109	.396*	.115	-.326
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	.490**	.101	.713**	-.095	.372*	.264	-.014	.456**	.093	.036
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	.517**	.271	.585**	-.132	.346*	-.014	.213	.282	.102	.165
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	.556**	.128	.803**	-.232	.212	-.108	-.122	.380*	.231	.005
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	.608**	.221	.796**	-.052	.286	-.236	-.310*	.170	.354*	-.040
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	.506**	.485**	.347*	.047	.035	.085	-.401*	.460*	.364*	-.229
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	.558	.683	.254	-.316	.367	.224	-.302	.222	0.	.778
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	-.321*	-.338*	-.206	.233	.059	.060	.266*	-.074	.040	.241
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	-.109	-.084	-.103	.805**	-.112	-.195	.017	.039	.248	.079
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	-.065	-.037	-.080	.220	-.040	-.050	-.201	.003	.196	-.130
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	-.001	.095	-.093	-.044	.132	-.040	-.147	.152	-.669**	.117
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	.063	-.017	.120	.049	-.175	.034	.046	-.234	.712**	-.138
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	-.164	-.131	-.115	.143	.016	-.158	.092	.051	.010	.743**
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	.172	.272	-.022	-.017	-.100	.089	.083	.200	.069	.249
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	-.066	.013	-.120	.444**	-.043	.288*	.030	-.133	.166	-.083
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	-.026	.090	-.149	.190	-.173	.484**	.114	.080	-.064	-.205

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PATHWAYS PROJECT INITIAL DATA-TEXT ANALYSES                                                         APRIL 30, 1970    PAGE    3

                                                     CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION          VAR  NC.      119      120      121      122      123      124      125      126      127      128

DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN          VAR  219     .033     .228    -.176     .526**  -.123    -.147    -.004    -.042    -.054    -.250
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES      VAR  220     .292     .383     .078     .206     .202     .191     .031     .277     .318    -.114
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES      VAR  221    -.137    -.189     .005    -.060    -.130    -.061     .097     .436     .103     .271
FATHER NEG JOB SES            VAR  222     .344     .226     .373    -.520*    .275     .046     .171     .734**   .276    -.010
MOTHER NEG JOB SES            VAR  223     .009    -.097     .103     .012    -.008    -.393*    .059     .198     .058     .033
FC NEG JOB SES                VAR  224     .275     .306*    .157    -.009     .031     .065    -.074     .237    -.051     .033
FC IDEAL JOB SES              VAR  225     .042    -.053     .131     .168     .383**   .021     .232    -.010     .036    -.035
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT      VAR  226     .143     .050     .213     .154     .091    -.180     .126    -.005     .081     .050
STONED SEX                    VAR  227    -.097    -.194     .034     .314*   -.100    -.071    -.041    -.100     .081     .086
JUNE 69 GRADES                VAR  228     .406*    .404*    .331    -.036     .097    -.014     .131     .437*    .082    -.053
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH      VAR  229     .013     .098    -.081    -.107     .254     .243     .336**   .300*   -.242    -.124
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS          VAR  230    -.018    -.009    -.015    -.137     .104    -.038     .003    -.136    -.094     .057
INTROSPECTIVENESS             VAR  231    -.105    -.084    -.091     .010     .061     .036    -.042    -.097    -.123    -.214
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL       VAR  232     .308*    .376**   .126    -.158    -.074     .181     .100     .277     .455**  -.007
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC        VAR  233    -.017    -.141     .119     .245    -.266    -.306*   -.144     .031    -.142     .350*
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC      VAR  234    -.012    -.131     .119     .260    -.270    -.301*   -.143     .027    -.137     .357*
U FC IDEAL JOB SES            VAR  235     .022    -.048     .095     .197     .368*   -.007     .225    -.014    -.006     .015
U FC NEG JOB SES              VAR  236     .243     .256     .157    -.013    -.021     .019    -.069     .214    -.075     .041
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  237     .054    -.112     .188    -.030     .034    -.364*    .020    -.011    -.050    -.112
U FATHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  238     .591*    .420     .613*   -.518*    .481     .134     .038     .690**   .357     .043
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES       VAR  239    -.118    -.204     .049     .056    -.066    -.130     .047     .384     .041     .248
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES       VAR  240     .283     .405     .047     .210     .222     .138     .094     .250     .334    -.070
U FC SECOND JOB SES           VAR  241     .161     .175     .079     .103    -.055    -.038    -.140     .056     .085    -.156
U FC FIRST JOB SES            VAR  242     .302*    .185     .307*   -.178     .050     .177    -.013     .034     .223    -.249
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES           VAR  243     .003     .163    -.226    -.023    -.116     .229     .014     .179    -.031     .158
U FATHERS OCCUP SES           VAR  244    -.040    -.083     .034     .122     .126    -.240     .089     .069     .015     .837**
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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR 119	.523*	.010	-.149	.164	-.241	-.184	-.234	.166	.071	.248
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR 120	.561*	-.010	-.079	.212	-.310*	-.168	-.331	.272	.084	.184
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR 121	.332	.019	-.175	.034	-.093	-.154	-.012	.005	.039	.227
FAMILY SIZE	VAR 122	-.109	-.417**	.108	.132	.262*	.242	.033	.539**	-.181	-.210
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR 123	.109	.040	.010	0.	-.158	-.077	.167	.004	.118	-.052
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR 124	.242	-.025	.170	.331*	.097	-.044	.292	-.224	.104	.063
ADC ASSISTED	VAR 125	-.020	0.	-.074	-.137	-.097	-.466**	.031	.014	.008	.083
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR 126	.458	-.082	.030	.246	-.107	.016	.011	-.049	.052	.316*
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR 127	.023	.146	-.149	.205	.014	.018	-.069	.222	-.257*	.185
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR 128	.136	.013	.013	-.120	-.058	.031	.001	-.260	-.079	.027
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR 129	1.000	.078	.054	.033	-.153	-.262	.091	.670*	-.358	.192
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR 130	.078	1.000	-.145	-.131	.092	.072	-.099	-.074	-.189	.149
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR 131	.054	-.145	1.000	.479**	.083	.158	.527**	-.162	.059	-.113
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR 132	.033	-.131	.479**	1.000	.196	.212	.289	.099	.058	.138
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR 133	-.153	.092	.083	.196	1.000	.294*	.306*	.139	-.203	.055
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR 134	-.262	.072	.158	.212	.294*	1.000	.185	0.	-.023	0.
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR 135	.091	-.099	.527**	.289	.306*	.185	1.000	.324	.076	.197
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR 136	.670*	-.074	-.162	.099	.139	0.	.324	1.000	-.392*	.080
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR 137	-.358	-.189	.059	.058	-.203	-.023	.076	-.392*	1.000	-.048
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR 138	.192	.149	-.113	.138	.055	0.	.197	.080	-.048	1.000
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR 139	.068	-.187	.042	.080	-.100	.018	.044	.115	-.265	.134
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR 140	.187	-.219	-.137	-.345*	-.438**	-.290	-.079	-.243	-.117	-.113
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 141	-.003	-.088	-.038	.149	-.064	-.066	-.159	.053	.204	-.277*
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 142	-.070	-.097	-.094	.194	-.037	-.064	.015	-.152	.258*	-.178
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 143	.156	-.291*	.063	.166	-.079	.065	-.115	.166	.101	-.165
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 144	.024	-.274	-.020	.162	-.093	-.057	-.206	-.012	.044	-.165
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR 145	-.548	-.147	.127	.046	-.065	.350	-.010	-.014	.322	-.200
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR 146	-.103	-.175	.120	-.008	.182	-.034	.107	-.619*	.408*	-.181
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR 147	.509	.075	.256	.167	-.045	-.215	.394	.154	-.603**	.283
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR 148	.260	-.056	.291	-.006	.187	-.000	.330	.127	.048	.215
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR 149	.282	-.004	.144	-.137	-.009	-.015	.035	.187	-.048	-.144
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 150	-.005	-.274	-.338*	-.187	-.056	-.168	-.341*	.170	.051	-.108
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 151	.146	-.227	-.148	-.023	-.104	.009	-.397*	.092	-.026	-.141
FC JOB PRES DIS IF	VAR 152	-.023	.000	-.005	-.187	.135	-.223	.063	-.126	.097	-.196
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR 153	-.124	-.032	.085	.060	-.028	-.011	-.038	.040	.194	-.375**
FC JOB PRES DIS IM	VAR 154	.003	-.130	-.166	.064	-.137	.035	-.363*	.323	.065	-.070
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR 155	.201	.067	.055	-.070	.185	.069	.005	-.175	-.069	-.136
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR 156	.214	.188	.278	-.037	.133	.268	-.028	.130	-.080	-.248
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR 157	.178	.035	.079	.309*	-.052	.170	-.084	-.161	.018	.023
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR 158	-.076	.042	-.020	.081	.029	-.120	-.068	-.362	.036	.138
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR 159	-.137	.127	-.095	-.190	.102	-.199	.029	.007	-.028	.134
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR 160	.286	.176	-.142	.308*	.009	-.026	.209	.000	.038	.160
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR 161	.146	-.119	-.017	.287	-.372*	-.048	-.124	-.395	.356*	-.102
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 162	-.235	.305	-.121	-.163	-.157	-.088	-.186	0.	.316	.157
REPEAT GRADE	VAR 163	.439*	-.054	.031	-.083	.061	.091	.238	.037	-.230	-.067
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR 164	-.051	.209	-.094	.480**	.248	.204	.139	.066	-.225	.046
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR 165	-.240	-.358**	-.085	-.123	-.075	-.015	-.274	.222	.114	-.184
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR 166	-.195	.073	-.116	-.209	.017	-.016	-.206	-.216	-.036	-.135
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR 167	-.207	-.069	-.032	-.211	.135	.034	.116	-.314	.192	-.129
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR 168	-.193	-.067	-.006	-.163	-.235	-.067	-.204	-.189	-.073	-.134

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PATHWAYS PROJECT INITIAL DATA-TEXT ANALYSES                                              APRIL 30, 1970    PAGE    5

                                                     CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION          VAR  NO.       129      130      131      132      133      134      135      136      137      138

FIGHTING                      VAR  169     -.012    -.077     .055    -.165    -.102    -.304*    .054    -.357    -.007     .017
TOTAL HOT WATER               VAR  170     -.190    -.058    -.049    -.236    -.146    -.125    -.234    -.285    -.104    -.188
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER          VAR  171     -.143    -.110    -.025    -.224    -.204    -.178    -.203    -.260    -.095    -.170
JUNE 69 GPA                   VAR  172     -.092     .205     .063    -.048    -.038    -.102    -.097     .116     .243     .321
SOURCE OF BETTER AT           VAR  173     -.203    -.100     .074     .010     .053    -.059     .023    -.109     .109     .168
NO. OF BETTER AT              VAR  174     -.157     .081     .107    -.030     .066    -.102     .066    -.125    -.087    0.
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT         VAR  175     -.428    -.153    -.073    -.196    -.010    -.082    -.211    -.215     .143    -.220
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE          VAR  176     -.380     .038    -.043     .042    -.046     .251    -.125     .036    -.057    -.017
INITIATOR OR REACTOR          VAR  177      .228     .013     .039    -.014    -.085    -.283*    .031    -.064    -.074    -.098
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO      VAR  178     -.406     .029    -.087     .045    -.070     .204    -.152    -.052    -.053     .004
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL      VAR  179     -.368     .005    -.226    -.082    -.069     .179    -.300    -.035     .122    -.073
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL          VAR  180      .303    0.        .235     .080    -.063     .018     .299*   -.270    -.120     .096
SELF CONCEPT                  VAR  181      .436*    .005     .152     .080    -.102    -.274*    .183     .042    -.171    0.
SELF ESTEEM                   VAR  182      .003     .092     .026     .234     .145    -.017    -.119    -.154    -.274*    .064
STRATEGIC STYLE               VAR  183     -.145    -.222     .059    -.114    -.218    -.331**  -.275     .055     .139    -.167
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS       VAR  184      .142     .051     .044    -.063    -.176    -.246     .022     .167     .075     .092
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS       VAR  185     -.037     .072    -.060    -.097    -.252*   -.159     .016     .323    -.028     .090
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES      VAR  186     -.113    -.095     .062    -.078    -.252    -.012    -.199     .394    -.089     .069
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT        VAR  187     -.100     .048    -.098    -.135    -.210    -.009     .023     .297    -.211     .136
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY      VAR  188      .008    -.001    -.079    -.107    -.045    -.252    -.176    -.207    -.181     .001
TAKE PILL YES-NO              VAR  189      .097     .078    -.050     .006    -.120     .177     .134     .173    -.006     .187
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO            VAR  190      .110    -.091    -.143    -.086    -.155     .033    -.051     .271     .082     .049
WHAT RACE PREFERRED           VAR  191      .193    -.175     .093     .081     .041     .044     .270    -.182    -.061     .065
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE          VAR  192     -.129     .063    -.075    -.017    -.168     .038    -.177    -.005     .251     .063
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR      VAR  193      .128     .059    -.124     .077    -.035    -.107    -.322*    .164     .074     .004
STEREOTYPING                  VAR  194     -.282    -.014     .189     .191    -.207    -.118     .147    -.205    -.041    -.245
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN         VAR  195     -.297    -.180    -.131    -.085    -.155     .117     .119     .258     .183    -.139
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY        VAR  196      .084     .022     .009     .143    -.063    -.143    -.112     .065    -.295*    .010
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS       VAR  197      .211     .058     .041     .414**   .088     .025    -.094     .070    -.236     .312*
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION          VAR  198      .597*    .043     .020     .252    -.203    -.171    -.250     .076    -.001     .325*
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION        VAR  199      .409    -.224     .067     .247    -.150    -.123    -.108     .136     .108     .156
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC           VAR  200      .213    -.020    -.012     .017    -.321*   -.110    -.391*    .213     .157     .012
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES         VAR  201      .534*   -.123    -.045     .216    -.229    -.132    -.147     .313     .132     .157
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY            VAR  202      .314    -.012     .015     .319*   -.024     .146    -.111     .016     .214     .127
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN           VAR  203      .211     .053    -.154    -.031    -.203    -.171    -.344     .298     .010    -.149
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP          VAR  204      .410     .086     .001     .103     .193    -.023     .099    -.109    -.100     .137
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR          VAR  205      .110    -.091    -.124    -.147    -.050    -.202     .020    -.215     .231     .157
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK           VAR  206      .340    -.041    -.141    -.018    -.179    -.199     .191    -.076     .013     .224
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS           VAR  207     -.145     .087    -.272     .019    -.098    -.073    -.125     .169    -.012     .238
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING          VAR  208      .405    -.050    -.013     .212    -.228    -.028    -.179     .158    -.078    -.010
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM          VAR  209     0.       0.        .241     .302    0.        .225    0.        .433     .452    -.169
POSITION IN FAMILY            VAR  210      .130    -.157     .126     .110     .179     .137     .203    -.136    -.128    -.031
NO. OF SIBLINGS               VAR  211     -.186    -.416**   .021     .226     .392**   .212    -.009     .568**  -.338**  -.110
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME          VAR  212     -.354     .268*    .034     .102     .321*    .384**   .020     .287    -.192    -.089
BIRTH DATE                    VAR  213      .299    -.148     .165    -.045    -.069     .105     .091    -.185     .308*   -.086
AGE AT INTERVIEW              VAR  214     -.190     .204    -.213     .064     .059    -.050    -.126     .261    -.272*    .101
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES        VAR  215      .411    -.039    -.000    -.145    -.200     .060    -.013    -.348    -.040    -.010
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES        VAR  216      .749**  -.168     .038    -.059    -.216    -.316    -.028     .271    -.244    -.092
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE          VAR  217      .247    -.041     .179     .164     .448**   .021     .051     .380*   -.383**  -.193
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN           VAR  218     -.107    -.055     .420**   .408**   .551**   .097     .374*    .065    -.036     .032
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PATHWAYS PROJECT INITIAL DATA-TEXT ANALYSES                                                  APRIL 30, 1970    PAGE    6
                                                      CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
VARIABLE DESCRIPTION         VAR  NO.      129      130      131      132      133      134      135      136      137      138

DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN         VAR  219     .413    -.123     .285    -.128    -.072    0.        .030     .572**  -.283    -.273
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  220    -.691*   -.094    -.058     .060     .143     .305    -.054    -.098     .164    -.152
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  221     .031     .003     .172    -.095     .106    -.010     .272    -.561     .259     .027
FATHER NEG JOB SES           VAR  222     .035     .114     .326     .415    -.066    -.252     .337    -.415    -.381     .170
MOTHER NEG JOB SES           VAR  223     .075    -.094     .262     .219     .154    -.097     .311     .244    -.056     .248
FC NEG JOB SES               VAR  224     .348     .142     .131    -.085     .038    -.001     .089     .280    -.062    -.100
FC IDEAL JOB SES             VAR  225    -.086    -.138    -.269*   -.052    -.033    -.163     .038     .034     .057     .209
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESONT     VAR  226    -.010    -.018    -.345**  -.247    -.083    -.133    -.099     .230    -.093     .068
STONED SEX                   VAR  227     .047    -.198    -.012    -.087    -.034    -.110    -.141    -.136    -.215    -.253
JUNE 69 GRADES               VAR  228     .091     .122     .082    -.051    -.044    -.053    -.085     .194     .160     .303
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH     VAR  229     .443*    .092     .046     .102    -.182    -.302*    .206     .093    -.111     .156
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS         VAR  230     .232    -.103     .152     .177     .061    -.040     .273     .341     .038    0.
INTROSPECTIVENESS            VAR  231     .618**  -.098    -.158    -.118    -.082    -.136     .164     .192    -.114     .047
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL      VAR  232     .497*    .145     .052     .247    -.037    -.138     .052    -.036    -.248     .341**
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC       VAR  233     .191    -.211    -.142    -.031    -.104     .012    -.395*    .045    -.026    -.139
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC     VAR  234     .146    -.227    -.148    -.023    -.104     .009    -.397*    .092    -.026    -.141
U FC IDEAL JOB SES           VAR  235    -.048    -.116    -.295*   -.110    -.051    -.139    -.013     .036     .005     .205
U FC NEG JOB SES             VAR  236     .253     .138     .141    -.158     .088    -.000     .101     .228    -.065    -.103
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES         VAR  237     .092    -.242     .246     .107     .175    -.111     .281     .068     .013     .195
U FATHER NEG JOB SES         VAR  238     .451    -.056     .219     .293    -.369    -.370     .282    -.081    -.476*    .074
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES      VAR  239     .024    -.065     .290    -.004     .221    -.041     .350    -.626*    .236    -.055
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES      VAR  240    -.659*   -.091    -.073    -.021     .114     .241    -.073    -.142     .158    -.186
U FC SECOND JOB SES          VAR  241     .014    -.277    -.023     .164    -.085    -.048    -.190    -.040     .056    -.168
U FC FIRST JOB SES           VAR  242    -.070    -.097    -.094     .194    -.037    -.064     .015    -.152     .258*   -.178
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES          VAR  243     .752**  -.022     .099     .053    -.028    -.152     .038     .332    -.185     .089
U FATHERS OCCUP SES          VAR  244     .418     .020    -.004    -.151    -.183     .000    -.064    -.357    -.018     .093
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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR	119	.027	-.076	.304*	.302*	.171	.165	.379	.098	.417	-.034
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR	120	-.136	-.150	.271	.185	.183	.186	.468*	.007	.339	-.134
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR	121	.175	.059	.227	.307*	.095	.074	.148	.157	.380	.085
FAMILY SIZE	VAR	122	.319*	-.083	-.096	-.178	.154	.099	.247	.124	-.292	-.077
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR	123	-.073	-.233	-.007	.050	.027	-.066	.314	-.034	-.122	-.118
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR	124	.081	-.045	.087	.177	-.023	-.041	.098	-.096	.179	-.401*
ADC ASSISTED	VAR	125	.121	-.021	-.100	-.013	-.205	-.130	-.001	-.045	.051	.033
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR	126	.220	-.188	.109	.034	.161	.059	.326	.469*	.632*	.099
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR	127	.186	.012	.168	.223	-.104	.086	.073	.023	.277	-.139
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	128	.055	.180	-.225	-.249	-.100	-.161	.001	.206	.283	-.030
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	129	.068	.187	-.003	-.070	.156	.024	-.548	-.103	.509	.260
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR	130	-.187	-.219	-.088	-.097	-.291*	-.274	-.147	-.175	.075	-.056
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR	131	.042	-.137	-.038	-.094	.063	-.020	.127	.120	.256	.291
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR	132	.080	-.345*	.149	.194	.166	.162	.046	-.008	.167	-.006
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR	133	-.100	-.438**	-.064	-.037	-.079	-.093	-.065	.182	-.045	.187
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR	134	.018	-.290	-.066	-.064	.065	-.057	.350	-.034	-.215	-.000
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR	135	.044	-.079	-.159	.015	-.115	-.206	-.010	.107	.394	.330
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR	136	.115	-.243	.053	-.152	.166	-.012	-.014	-.619*	.154	.127
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR	137	-.265	-.117	.204	.258*	.101	.044	.322	.408*	-.603**	.048
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR	138	.134	-.113	-.277*	-.178	-.165	-.165	-.200	-.181	.283	.215
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR	139	1.000	.217	-.233	-.191	-.215	-.136	-.138	-.237	.371	-.161
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR	140	.217	1.000	.100	-.003	-.030	.117	-.468*	-.135	.500*	.045
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	141	-.233	.100	1.000	.874**	.162	.317*	.122	-.102	.225	.114
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	142	-.191	-.003	.874**	1.000	.179	.378**	.123	-.110	.113	.122
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	143	-.215	-.030	.162	.179	1.000	.829**	.537**	.095	.143	.174
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	144	-.136	.117	.317*	.378**	.829**	1.000	.359	.021	.232	.103
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	145	-.138	-.468*	.122	.123	.537**	.359	1.000	.562*	-.567	-.034
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	146	-.237	-.135	-.102	-.110	.095	.021	.562*	1.000	-.389	.267
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	147	.371	.500*	.225	.113	.143	.232	-.567	-.389	1.000	.670*
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	148	-.161	.045	.114	.122	.174	.103	-.034	.267	.670*	1.000
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR	149	-.034	-.088	-.083	-.203	.001	-.135	.015	.224	.144	-.201
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	150	-.267	.143	.486**	.333*	.030	.126	.054	.045	.065	-.014
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	151	.142	.418*	.103	.014	.395*	.443**	-.247	-.084	.106	.033
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR	152	.035	.422*	.492**	.389*	-.062	.093	-.552**	-.224	.194	.162
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR	153	-.276	.043	.699**	.621**	.174	.274	.133	-.174	-.194	-.005
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR	154	-.126	.300	.684**	.575**	.211	.258	-.093	-.605**	-.464	-.102
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR	155	-.169	-.283	-.007	.068	.052	-.027	.065	.199	-.121	.068
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR	156	-.312	-.370*	-.189	-.261	.098	-.015	.129	.176	-.107	.115
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR	157	.163	-.393*	.077	.133	.254	.311*	.417*	.122	.109	.090
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR	158	-.040	-.269	.106	.176	.049	.198	.092	.126	.212	.052
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR	159	-.062	.034	-.039	-.028	-.153	-.059	-.204	-.034	.107	.042
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR	160	-.188	-.186	.016	.158	.159	.067	.083	.174	.442	-.041
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR	161	-.023	-.302	.180	.233	.157	.223	.182	.329	.060	-.085
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	162	-.046	-.541**	-.109	-.184	-.335	-.394*	.552*	.485	-.748**	-.327
REPEAT GRADE	VAR	163	-.131	.122	.123	.226	.101	.181	.240	-.080	.137	.153
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR	164	.315	.128	.010	.143	-.070	.038	-.050	.101	.303	-.138
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR	165	-.044	.268	-.014	-.064	.154	.145	-.213	-.108	-.460	.073
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR	166	-.085	.030	-.104	-.078	-.080	.030	-.206	-.072	-.181	-.035
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR	167	-.124	-.231	-.049	-.037	-.171	-.084	.163	.047	-.446	-.104
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR	168	.147	-.045	-.144	-.080	.027	.049	-.154	.037	-.270	-.118

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148
FIGHTING	VAR	169	-.008	.268	-.065	-.034	-.006	-.020	-.301	-.173	.075	.157
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	.068	.036	-.124	-.073	-.030	.061	-.241	-.022	-.302	-.110
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	.114	.076	-.076	-.026	.021	.077	-.200	-.002	-.324	-.116
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.099	-.281	-.073	-.257	-.311	-.393*	.541*	.288	-.385	-.143
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	-.028	.214	.109	.142	.001	.054	-.313	.010	-.448	.563**
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	.063	-.152	-.315*	-.257*	-.080	-.085	-.187	-.265	-.384	.018
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	-.086	.215	.324*	.206	-.105	-.057	-.131	.172	-.240	-.170
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	.047	-.154	.131	.021	.084	.028	.346	-.046	-.009	-.011
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	-.018	.081	.015	.026	.131	.073	.168	.071	.483*	.128
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	-.058	-.226	.118	-.013	.112	.002	.589**	.279	.205	.054
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	.058	-.070	.352*	.204	.172	.154	.436	-.050	-.289	-.217
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	-.194	.100	.058	.169	-.185	-.084	-.185	-.154	.102	.230
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	.114	.060	-.212	-.143	-.046	-.104	-.216	-.069	.559*	.142
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	-.057	-.171	-.183	-.120	.079	.139	.097	.088	-.021	-.129
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	-.101	.207	.110	.112	.154	.270	-.138	-.060	-.146	.066
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	.076	.080	.371**	.233	-.140	-.148	.417*	.004	.108	.271
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	.059	.083	.232	.139	-.125	-.146	.049	-.355	-.047	-.063
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	.076	-.155	-.100	-.239	.098	-.020	-.203	-.364	-.043	-.015
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	.109	.054	.013	-.054	-.131	-.130	-.190	-.414*	-.029	-.198
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	.195	.090	-.061	-.111	-.166	-.054	-.311	-.167	.049	-.244
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	-.014	.015	-.002	.048	.076	.012	-.223	-.338	.337	-.068
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	-.067	-.274	-.301*	-.195	-.037	-.170	.286	-.062	-.279	.199
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	.070	.038	.005	.060	.059	.081	.096	-.085	.242	-.026
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	-.006	-.154	.153	.074	-.206	-.175	-.185	-.298	-.085	-.117
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	-.401**	-.006	.168	.128	.157	.200	-.045	-.092	.070	.034
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	-.017	.258	.058	.086	.083	.150	-.009	.243	-.127	.065
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	-.037	.036	-.008	.065	.049	.055	.078	0.	-.191	.116
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	.118	-.003	-.161	-.099	-.131	-.132	-.232	-.070	-.035	.054
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	-.134	-.140	.067	.052	.086	.076	-.004	-.111	.304	.020
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	-.206	-.096	.170	.155	.152	.091	.556*	-.029	.532	.037
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	-.014	-.061	.276	.170	.273	.185	.544*	.022	.256	-.082
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	.019	-.008	.129	.028	.215	.280	.399	.139	-.071	-.260
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	-.409*	-.018	.231	.162	.094	.040	-.117	-.166	.569	-.114
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	-.052	-.256	.168	.150	.242	.149	.398	.093	.028	-.057
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.078	-.085	.218	.099	-.113	.075	.061	.036	.089	-.120
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	-.042	-.158	.109	.184	.085	.025	.193	.228	.272	-.081
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	.194	-.046	.043	.178	-.103	-.047	.085	.188	-.097	.045
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	.367*	.155	.087	.191	.074	.022	-.043	.042	.451	.097
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	.045	-.026	.187	.258	.053	.124	.065	-.058	-.007	.095
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	.055	.393	.326*	.202	.296	.183	.232	.147	.538	.194
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	-.192	-.816	.619	.301	-.624	-.603	0.	0.	0.	-.959*
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	.172	.046	-.050	.049	-.113	-.029	-.077	-.117	.289	.285
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	.308*	-.186	-.031	-.090	.091	.070	.050	.052	-.078	-.022
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	.013	-.351*	.072	-.004	-.069	-.106	-.024	-.157	.047	-.047
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	-.128	.010	.109	.031	.192	.136	.092	-.020	.131	.090
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	.048	.022	.040	.088	-.202	-.116	-.099	-.017	-.168	-.138
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	.168	.492**	-.116	-.153	.028	.109	-.055	.368	.402	-.076
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	.309	.244	.092	.054	.031	.170	-.568	-.073	.328	.111
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	-.068	-.009	.007	-.028	.084	.021	-.042	.130	.173	.035
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	-.134	-.244	.077	.118	.170	.157	.012	.064	.052	.266

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148
DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN	VAR 219	.011	.044	.200	-.074	.025	-.026	.056	-.196	-.154	.208
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 220	-.039	-.505*	.124	.225	.418*	.407*	.848**	.409	-.551	-.108
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 221	-.186	-.135	-.312	-.285	-.025	-.040	.535*	.792**	-.060	.243
FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 222	.330	.116	.314	.145	.038	.157	-.252	-.081	.712**	.460
MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 223	-.056	-.149	.090	.066	.132	.095	-.037	.173	.486	.776**
FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 224	-.066	-.085	-.072	-.166	-.043	-.196	-.002	.222	.195	-.213
FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 225	-.008	.039	.166	.255	-.196	-.003	.062	-.082	-.066	-.067
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT	VAR 226	.077	.264	-.076	-.095	-.262	-.165	-.049	.081	.084	-.096
STONED SEX	VAR 227	.130	-.007	.065	.058	-.031	.106	-.024	.112	-.258	-.200
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 228	.114	-.219	-.098	-.292	-.253	-.384*	.531*	.347	-.337	-.090
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH	VAR 229	.129	-.179	-.168	-.154	-.122	-.259	-.209	-.188	.382	-.035
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS	VAR 230	-.075	-.010	.072	.030	.107	.082	-.017	-.085	.158	.165
INTROSPECTIVENESS	VAR 231	.058	.041	.071	.116	.103	.081	-.266	-.452*	.247	.066
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL	VAR 232	-.176	.125	.137	.123	-.166	-.077	-.286	-.048	.434	.082
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 233	.157	.424*	.107	.015	.378*	.428**	-.258	-.099	.139	.057
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 234	.142	.418*	.103	.014	.395*	.443**	-.247	-.084	.106	.033
U FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 235	-.025	.120	.114	.173	-.184	-.003	.059	-.075	.021	-.083
U FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 236	-.085	-.079	-.076	-.184	-.050	-.192	.015	.253	.173	-.164
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 237	-.179	-.051	.115	.189	.257	.247	-.011	.126	.206	.839**
U FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 238	.299	.293	.395	.274	.240	.284	-.253	-.081	.751**	.451
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 239	-.225	-.194	-.322	-.243	.043	.039	.459	.847**	.103	.335
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 240	-.085	-.467*	.170	.252	.387*	.427*	.868**	.506*	-.518	-.132
U FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 241	-.140	.112	.311*	.378**	.830**	.998**	.353	.042	.210	.102
U FC FIRST JOB SES	VAR 242	-.191	-.003	.874**	1.000**	.179	.378**	.123	-.110	.113	.122
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 243	.229	-.056	-.124	-.137	-.119	-.061	-.599	-.073	.090	.106
U FATHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 244	.117	.350*	-.182	-.212	-.015	.027	-.063	.360	.402	-.071

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR	119	.227	.091	-.012	-.377*	.057	.227	-.052	-.274	.300	.334*
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR	120	.241	.107	-.131	-.450*	.087	.263	-.132	-.074	.327	.330*
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR	121	.148	.042	.119	-.084	.015	.075	.031	-.392*	.157	.214
FAMILY SIZE	VAR	122	.032	.139	.260	-.072	-.208	.151	-.080	.080	-.123	-.283*
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR	123	.067	.234	-.270	-.138	-.105	-.136	.073	-.060	-.302	.180
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR	124	.030	-.163	-.301*	-.073	.041	.033	-.088	-.156	-.155	-.049
ADC ASSISTED	VAR	125	-.092	.113	-.143	-.071	-.093	-.168	-.138	-.188	-.268	-.189
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR	126	.209	.125	.027	-.423*	-.089	-.186	-.102	-.118	.327	.230
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR	127	-.123	-.036	-.137	.053	.071	.030	-.084	-.286	.345*	-.097
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	128	.071	-.203	.357*	.156	-.586**	-.163	-.161	.015	-.122	-.167
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	129	.282	-.005	.146	-.023	-.124	.003	.201	.214	.178	-.076
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR	130	-.004	-.274	-.227	.000	-.032	-.130	.067	.188	.035	.042
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR	131	.144	-.338*	-.148	-.005	.085	-.166	.055	.278	.079	-.020
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR	132	-.137	-.187	-.023	-.187	.060	.064	-.070	-.037	.309*	.081
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR	133	-.009	-.056	-.104	.135	-.028	-.137	.185	.133	-.052	.029
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR	134	-.015	-.168	.009	-.223	-.011	.035	.069	.268	.170	-.120
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR	135	.035	-.341*	-.397*	.063	-.038	-.363*	.005	-.028	-.084	-.068
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR	136	.187	.170	.092	-.126	.040	.323	-.175	.130	-.161	-.362
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR	137	-.048	.051	-.026	.097	.194	.065	-.069	-.080	.018	.036
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR	138	-.144	-.108	-.141	-.196	-.375**	-.070	-.136	-.248	.023	.138
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR	139	-.034	-.267	.142	.035	-.276	-.126	-.169	-.312	.163	-.040
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR	140	-.088	.143	.418*	.422*	.043	.300	-.283	-.370*	-.393*	-.269
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	141	-.083	.486**	.103	.492**	.699**	.684**	-.007	-.189	.077	.106
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	142	-.203	.333*	.014	.389*	.621**	.575**	.068	-.261	.133	.176
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	143	.001	.030	.395*	-.062	.174	.211	.052	.098	.254	.049
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	144	-.135	.126	.443**	.093	.274	.258	-.027	-.015	.311*	.198
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	145	.015	.054	-.247	-.552**	.133	-.093	.065	.129	.417*	.092
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	146	.224	.045	-.084	-.224	-.174	-.605**	.199	.176	.122	.126
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	147	.144	.065	.106	.194	-.194	-.464	-.121	-.107	.109	.212
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	148	-.201	-.014	.033	.162	-.005	-.102	.068	.115	.090	.052
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR	149	1.000	-.191	-.092	-.203	-.079	-.255	.075	.114	-.150	.062
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	150	-.191	1.000	-.010	.330	.277	.262	.172	-.054	-.215	.180
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	151	-.092	-.010	1.000	.181	.012	.332	-.139	-.095	.031	-.197
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR	152	-.203	.330	.181	1.000	.291	.295	.094	-.139	-.178	-.139
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR	153	-.079	.277	.012	.291	1.000	.384*	.097	-.109	.140	-.022
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR	154	-.255	.262	.332	.295	.384*	1.000	-.320	-.424*	-.184	-.173
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR	155	.075	.172	-.139	.094	.097	-.320	1.000	.311*	.149	.269
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR	156	.114	-.054	-.095	-.139	-.109	-.424*	.311*	1.000	.259	.133
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR	157	-.150	-.215	.031	-.178	.140	-.184	.149	.259	1.000	.376**
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR	158	.062	.180	-.197	-.139	-.022	-.173	.269	.133	.376**	1.000
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR	159	.042	.277	-.244	-.007	-.096	-.014	.080	.006	-.517**	.452**
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR	160	.088	-.105	-.068	-.284	-.147	-.144	.349*	-.024	.151	.242
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR	161	.173	-.208	.224	-.230	-.070	0.	.281	.220	.348	.383*
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	162	.346*	-.072	-.447*	-.293	-.053	-.346	.257	.130	.154	.231
REPEAT GRADE	VAR	163	-.083	.252	-.240	-.039	.138	.057	.004	.140	.154	.109
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR	164	-.294	-.207	.035	.252	-.138	-.122	.050	-.197	.245	-.073
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR	165	-.057	.050	.372*	.010	.091	.294	-.277*	-.087	-.256	-.217
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR	166	-.226	.064	.112	.081	.000	-.109	-.266*	.284	-.028	-.219
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR	167	-.183	.054	-.056	.074	.123	-.129	-.126	.093	.023	-.201
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR	168	-.001	.006	-.004	.099	-.113	-.016	-.198	.009	-.092	-.141

PATHWAYS PROJECT INITIAL DATA-TEXT ANALYSES

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158
FIGHTING	VAR	169	-.316*	.175	.147	.267	-.011	.141	-.146	-.283	-.421**	-.104
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	-.168	.069	.098	.159	-.044	-.006	-.289*	.051	-.122	-.248
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	-.093	.072	.084	.195	-.038	.073	-.211	-.094	-.167	-.210
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.405*	-.029	-.230	-.112	-.126	-.170	.299	.092	.132	.131
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	.029	.046	.287	.276	.073	.113	.120	-.151	.138	.117
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	-.136	-.157	-.066	-.065	-.132	0.	-.028	.104	-.228	-.199
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	.197	.287	.007	.360*	.172	.222	.156	-.232	-.362*	.160
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	-.127	.042	.039	.132	.079	.179	.180	-.121	.271	.073
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	-.126	.057	-.090	-.087	-.178	.104	-.182	.099	-.234	-.156
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	-.233	.130	-.087	-.119	-.025	.135	.219	-.106	.233	.043
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	-.278	.203	.176	.341	.184	.425*	.200	-.262	.256	.203
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	-.136	-.036	-.231	-.069	.011	.170	-.209	-.091	-.054	.004
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	-.044	-.114	-.135	-.239	-.271*	-.078	-.151	.124	-.356*	-.161
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	-.121	-.125	-.126	-.071	-.159	-.169	.141	-.116	.058	.026
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	-.091	.173	.256	.004	.165	.262	-.349**	-.306	-.309*	-.258
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	-.015	.189	-.385**	-.011	.386**	.142	-.221	.056	.102	.087
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	-.140	.058	-.221	-.097	.290*	.236	-.315*	-.021	-.015	.010
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	.017	.176	.094	-.031	-.104	.111	-.165	.169	-.001	.168
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	-.200	.041	.022	-.082	-.005	.156	-.328*	.000	-.060	-.041
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	-.047	.132	.345*	.134	-.153	.118	-.030	.039	-.112	.085
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	-.085	-.139	.268	-.024	.101	.160	-.014	.086	.297*	.094
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	-.132	-.054	-.390**	-.358*	-.157	-.111	.147	-.008	.079	-.040
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	.189	.064	.155	-.248	-.018	.066	.014	-.116	-.068	-.106
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	-.035	.241	-.286	.230	.137	.148	.124	.137	-.012	.058
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	-.114	.146	-.066	.102	.101	.248	-.037	.160	.167	.165
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	.012	-.049	.098	.234	.045	-.089	-.142	.013	.024	-.042
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	-.019	-.289	.081	-.097	.011	.078	-.045	-.206	-.030	-.077
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	.098	-.128	.064	-.219	-.267*	-.106	-.048	.102	-.007	.111
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	.050	.157	-.247	-.101	-.131	.090	-.037	-.041	.345*	.108
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	.159	.035	-.182	-.507**	-.008	.136	-.049	-.136	.327	.222
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	.223	.189	-.061	-.279	.040	.298	-.180	-.172	.125	.358*
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	.232	.056	.034	-.215	.069	.131	-.111	.105	.358*	.370*
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	.191	.218	-.006	-.354	-.040	.314	-.129	.046	-.051	.138
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	.213	-.318	.005	-.362	-.002	.209	-.070	.001	.257	.411*
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.142	.168	-.135	-.211	.241	.003	.107	.188	.278	.344*
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	.211	-.024	.180	-.209	-.059	-.073	.060	-.199	-.072	.086
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	.125	-.039	-.194	-.058	-.127	.036	-.303*	-.499**	-.020	.109
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	.134	-.069	.061	.163	-.034	-.168	.176	-.447*	.259	.184
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	.006	.094	.270	-.003	.056	.123	.061	-.161	.188	.228
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	-.010	.183	.140	-.105	.177	.301	.188	-.074	.209	.195
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	.696	-.533	-.587	0.	.548	0.	-.307	.187	.678	.492
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	-.231	.168	.226	.124	-.183	-.104	.013	-.094	.032	-.084
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	-.029	.129	.276	-.039	-.153	.192	-.040	-.131	-.146	-.195
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	-.079	-.224	.076	-.045	.057	.107	-.116	.115	.001	.031
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	.113	.053	.164	-.019	.060	.266	.025	.148	.046	.315*
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	-.157	.003	-.095	.044	[illegible]	-.098	-.035	-.131	.012	-.300*
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	-.091	-.040	.459**	.209	[illegible]	-.210	-.182	.030	-.015	-.224
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	.244	-.039	.274	.300	-.069	-.126	.032	.220	.213	-.114
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	.043	.176	-.077	.135	.002	-.008	.138	.167	-.101	-.172
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	-.034	-.195	-.081	-.081	.097	.161	-.085	-.062	-.194	-.112

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158
DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN	VAR 219	.465*	.348	.077	-.035	.288	.211	-.021	.480*	-.076	-.174
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 220	-.059	.003	-.303	-.465*	.189	-.160	-.055	.087	.513**	.083
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 221	-.029	-.151	-.216	-.205	-.233	-.741**	.173	.232	.219	-.025
FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 222	-.022	.137	-.047	.141	-.079	-.348	-.032	-.221	.369	.306
MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 223	-.320	.015	.028	.155	-.095	-.070	-.066	.061	.152	.164
FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 224	.896**	-.208	-.173	-.205	-.086	-.297	.029	.234	-.042	.129
FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 225	-.225	.648**	.001	-.017	-.018	.094	-.097	-.196	-.264	.120
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT	VAR 226	-.018	.186	.073	-.104	-.180	.100	-.346**	-.370*	-.330*	-.117
STONED SEX	VAR 227	-.013	.005	.120	.089	.086	.084	-.123	-.147	.080	-.218
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 228	.417*	-.092	-.194	-.151	-.077	-.168	.302	.134	.160	.137
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH	VAR 229	-.093	-.142	-.224	-.372*	-.119	-.013	-.096	-.146	-.259	.039
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS	VAR 230	-.122	-.019	-.022	.090	.052	.008	-.047	.221	.111	-.066
INTROSPECTIVENESS	VAR 231	-.156	.066	-.178	.206	.083	.362*	.077	.005	-.138	-.028
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL	VAR 232	.120	.236	-.203	-.009	-.039	.005	-.116	-.034	.208	.192
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 233	-.113	-.011	.997**	.201	.025	.340	-.117	-.094	.032	-.206
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 234	-.092	-.010	1.000**	.181	.012	.332	-.139	-.095	.031	-.197
U FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 235	-.227	.683**	.058	-.034	-.072	.100	-.104	-.172	-.302*	.075
U FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 236	.922**	-.199	-.202	-.140	-.075	-.292	.060	.209	-.075	.125
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 237	-.345	.099	.073	.171	-.019	.001	.065	.106	.171	.156
U FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 238	.062	.251	.009	.151	.031	-.386	.125	-.290	.373	.219
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 239	.050	-.146	-.196	-.199	-.244	-.774**	.255	.360	.191	.091
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 240	-.013	.108	-.316	-.449*	.194	-.197	.032	.117	.447*	.157
U FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 241	-.144	.117	.441**	.087	.263	.253	-.033	-.007	.309*	.200
U FC FIRST JOB SES	VAR 242	-.203	.333*	.014	.389*	.621**	.575**	.068	-.261	.133	.176
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 243	.306	-.257	.127	.076	-.200	-.197	.104	.377	.105	-.078
U FATHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 244	-.001	-.064	.476**	.190	-.467**	-.214	-.192	.036	-.035	-.183

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR	119	-.046	.413**	.299	.312	.104	.129	-.242	-.413**	-.292*	-.317*
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR	120	-.054	.327*	.354*	.305	.135	-.161	-.182	-.305*	-.187	-.260
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR	121	-.001	.363*	.128	.243	.038	.442	-.205	-.393**	-.300*	-.267
FAMILY SIZE	VAR	122	-.095	-.229	-.187	-.237	.083	.181	.297*	.025	-.003	.161
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR	123	.420**	.237	.155	.145	.052	.015	-.191	-.160	.023	-.094
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR	124	.126	.241	.143	-.112	.039	.109	-.236	-.058	.106	-.075
ADC ASSISTED	VAR	125	.140	-.210	-.300	.098	-.016	-.206	-.038	.110	.190	.073
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR	126	-.075	.230	.273	.338	-.017	-.213	-.253	-.332*	-.229	-.157
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR	127	-.407**	.106	-.158	.042	.240	.799**	-.092	-.066	-.220	-.058
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	128	-.109	.009	-.006	-.083	-.127	.357	.054	.050	.074	-.022
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	129	-.137	.286	.146	-.235	.439*	-.051	-.240	-.195	-.207	-.193
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR	130	.127	.176	-.119	.305	-.054	.209	-.358**	.073	-.069	-.067
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR	131	-.095	-.142	-.017	-.121	.031	-.094	-.085	-.116	-.032	-.006
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR	132	-.193	.308*	.287	-.163	-.083	.480**	-.123	-.209	-.211	-.163
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR	133	.102	.009	-.372*	-.157	.061	.248	-.075	.017	.135	-.235
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR	134	-.199	-.026	-.048	-.088	.091	.204	-.015	-.016	.034	-.067
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR	135	.029	.209	-.124	-.186	.238	.139	-.274	-.206	.116	-.204
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR	136	.007	.000	-.395	0.	.037	.066	.222	-.216	-.314	-.189
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR	137	-.028	.038	.356*	.316	-.230	-.225	.114	-.036	.192	-.073
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR	138	.134	.160	-.102	.157	-.067	.046	-.184	-.135	-.129	-.134
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR	139	-.062	-.188	-.023	-.046	-.131	.315	-.044	-.085	-.124	.147
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR	140	.034	-.186	-.302	-.541**	.122	.128	.268	.030	-.231	-.045
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	141	-.039	.016	.180	-.109	.123	.010	-.014	-.104	-.049	-.144
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	142	-.028	.158	.233	-.184	.226	.143	-.064	-.078	-.037	-.080
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	143	-.153	.159	.157	-.335	.101	-.070	.154	-.080	-.171	.027
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	144	-.059	.067	.223	-.394*	.181	.038	.145	.030	-.084	.049
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	145	-.204	.083	.182	.552*	.240	-.050	-.213	-.206	.163	-.154
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	146	-.034	.174	.329	.485	-.080	.101	-.108	-.072	.047	.037
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	147	.107	.442	.060	-.748**	.137	.303	-.460	-.181	-.446	-.270
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	148	.042	-.041	-.085	-.327	.153	-.138	.073	-.035	-.104	-.118
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR	149	.042	.088	.173	.346*	-.083	-.294	-.057	-.226	-.183	-.001
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	150	.277	-.105	-.208	-.072	.252	-.207	.050	.064	.054	.006
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	151	-.244	-.068	.224	-.447*	-.240	.035	.372*	.112	-.056	-.004
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR	152	-.007	-.284	-.230	-.293	-.039	.252	.010	.081	.074	.099
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR	153	-.096	-.147	-.070	-.053	.138	-.138	.091	.000	.123	-.113
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR	154	-.014	-.144	0.	-.346	.057	-.122	.294	-.109	-.129	-.016
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR	155	.080	.349*	.281	.257	.004	.050	-.277*	-.266*	-.126	-.198
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR	156	.006	-.024	.220	.130	.140	-.197	-.087	.284	.093	.009
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR	157	-.517**	.151	.348	.154	.154	.245	-.256	-.028	.023	-.092
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR	158	.452**	.242	.383*	.231	.109	-.073	-.217	-.219	-.201	-.141
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR	159	1.000	-.022	.060	.117	-.038	-.361	-.003	-.098	-.091	.032
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR	160	-.022	1.000	.537**	.281	-.099	.350	-.456**	-.467**	-.378**	-.368**
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR	161	.060	.537**	1.000	.298	-.324*	-.335	-.328*	-.296	-.176	.093
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	162	.117	.281	.298	1.000	-.314	0.	-.673**	-.294	-.088	-.133
REPEAT GRADE	VAR	163	-.038	-.099	-.324*	-.314	1.000	.274	-.066	.047	-.017	-.151
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR	164	-.361	.350	-.335	0.	.274	1.000	0.	-.084	-.161	-.244
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR	165	-.003	-.456**	-.328*	-.673**	-.066	0.	1.000	.293*	.126	.293*
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR	166	-.098	-.467**	-.296	-.294	.047	-.084	.293*	1.000	.589**	.338**
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR	167	-.091	-.378**	-.176	-.088	-.017	-.161	.126	.589**	1.000	.171
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR	168	.032	-.368**	.093	-.133	-.151	-.244	.293*	.338**	.171	1.000

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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.		159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168
FIGHTING	VAR	169	.295*	-.262	-.180	-.448**	-.065	-.241	.048	.130	.206	.225
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	-.018	-.561**	-.125	-.358*	-.084	-.258	.356**	.703**	.447**	.853**
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	.047	-.440**	-.005	-.257	-.137	-.315	.319*	.349**	.254*	.915**
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.023	.222	.216	.832**	-.198	0.	-.651**	-.412*	-.231	-.469**
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	-.044	-.077	.029	-.229	.008	.142	.106	-.094	-.177	-.029
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	.181	-.265*	-.128	-.064	-.127	-.331	-.031	.133	.156	.315*
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	.172	-.030	.069	.244	-.104	-.042	.098	-.104	-.116	.017
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	-.125	.104	.041	.232	-.059	.260	-.272*	-.144	-.052	-.134
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	.186	.048	.092	-.160	.035	-.315	-.071	.049	.059	.057
REACT CAN OR PEACT CANNO	VAR	178	-.063	.192	.099	.430	-.076	.167	-.350*	-.168	.014	-.231
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	-.003	.092	.161	.232	-.112	.164	-.191	-.221	.008	-.174
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	-.016	-.079	-.154	-.301	.190	0.	-.064	.126	.174	.030
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	.237	.038	.033	-.191	.035	-.265	.011	.026	.000	.136
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	.115	.017	-.089	.021	.043	.217	-.175	.007	-.016	.141
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	.081	-.478**	-.117	-.237	-.201	-.610**	.429**	.314*	.144	.420**
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	.096	-.234	-.071	.217	.199	-.293	-.056	.014	-.060	-.121
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	.084	-.323*	-.265	.161	.141	-.302	.056	.167	-.023	-.082
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	.079	-.199	-.224	-.164	-.065	-.186	.278	.067	-.085	.171
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	.032	-.327*	-.298	.045	.081	-.187	.133	.274*	.041	.074
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	.243	-.171	.367*	.045	-.050	-.254	.079	.114	.046	.194
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	-.170	.132	.114	.106	.077	-.083	-.026	-.109	-.199	-.040
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	-.131	.055	-.041	.231	-.040	-.142	.100	-.143	-.120	.023
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	-.141	.174	.011	.066	.249	-.071	.020	-.174	-.201	-.025
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	.197	-.042	.132	.338	-.074	-.167	.152	-.069	-.004	-.029
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	.006	.033	.045	.034	.040	.022	.091	-.098	-.071	-.199
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	-.089	.021	.084	-.132	-.004	.196	.093	.178	-.064	.249
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	-.055	.106	.198	-.005	-.163	.069	.208	-.165	-.040	.034
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	.137	-.200	.043	-.068	-.067	.011	.147	.107	-.106	.165
KNOWLG OF GPPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	-.304*	.167	-.132	-.167	.191	.442*	-.060	-.097	-.224	-.100
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	-.222	.426**	.202	.206	.172	-.110	-.368*	-.363*	-.216	-.422**
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	.196	.266	.272	.169	.193	-.169	-.014	-.233	-.114	-.148
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	.026	.050	.260	.231	.085	-.201	-.021	-.169	-.100	-.095
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	.094	.399**	.351*	.040	.044	-.125	.009	-.180	-.108	-.260
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	.055	.473**	.512**	.173	-.072	.047	-.244	-.409**	-.165	-.430**
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.004	.012	.176	.249	.061	-.467	-.116	-.130	-.015	-.123
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	.104	.258	-.124	.284	.090	.429	-.135	-.268	-.092	-.207
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	.135	-.048	0.	.182	-.033	.093	.038	-.165	-.003	.077
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	-.219	.304	.135	.197	.046	.317	-.246	-.470**	-.353*	-.358*
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	.061	.344*	.236	.275	-.086	.223	-.147	-.320*	-.276	-.174
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	-.067	.450**	.234	-.224	.206	.427	-.228	-.314	-.360*	-.307
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	-.075	-.307	.228	.387	-.564	0.	-.301	.168	.225	-.539
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	-.050	-.148	-.156	-.454**	.152	.150	.087	.298*	.288*	.144
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	-.009	-.133	-.172	-.165	-.051	.181	.273*	-.089	-.157	.132
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	.152	-.084	-.106	-.041	-.027	.141	.101	.056	.023	.143
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	.227	.070	.308	-.041	.037	-.528**	-.094	-.190	.048	-.160
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	-.238	-.009	-.240	-.085	.015	.639**	.083	.160	-.013	.099
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	-.178	-.100	-.122	-.215	.003	.263	.103	.188	.167	.059
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	-.166	-.061	.101	-.071	.406*	.000	-.016	.127	.081	.053
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	.005	.015	-.249	-.394*	.191	.243	-.001	.076	-.046	.165
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	.021	-.009	-.236	-.287	.013	.017	-.033	-.022	.105	-.043

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168
DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN	VAR 219	.050	-.469*	-.121	-.299	.134	-.320	.196	.209	-.015	.179
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 220	-.251	0.	.059	.357	.374*	.139	-.166	-.105	.210	-.067
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 221	-.248	-.041	.088	.235	.062	.233	-.023	.045	.209	.043
FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 222	.089	.332	.318	.047	-.029	-.178	-.525*	-.333	-.386	-.172
MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 223	-.012	.018	.017	-.190	.045	-.198	-.007	-.150	-.257	-.173
FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 224	.019	.117	.107	.274	-.007	-.243	-.157	-.192	-.184	.005
FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 225	.334*	.045	-.047	-.003	.243	-.071	-.084	.117	.128	.079
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT	VAR 226	.204	.171	-.072	.092	.072	-.109	-.045	-.071	-.049	.088
STONED SEX	VAR 227	-.196	-.348**	.094	-.057	-.055	-.225	.247	.168	.205	.533**
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 228	.033	.232	.180	.831**	-.116	.041	-.643**	-.410*	-.274	-.499**
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH	VAR 229	.330*	.195	.171	.027	-.015	-.410*	-.167	-.103	-.034	.031
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS	VAR 230	-.097	.137	-.002	.051	-.032	-.036	.069	.113	-.033	-.166
INTROSPECTIVENESS	VAR 231	.250	.060	.191	-.135	.180	-.403*	.014	-.185	-.141	.107
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL	VAR 232	-.122	.137	-.128	-.103	.408**	.261	-.127	.038	-.175	-.167
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 233	-.252	-.068	.230	-.437*	-.235	.037	.363*	.102	-.055	-.004
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 234	-.244	-.068	.224	-.447*	-.240	.035	.372*	.112	-.056	-.004
U FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 235	.351*	.048	-.064	-.026	.246	-.130	-.046	.140	.132	.104
U FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 236	.027	.071	-.004	.297	-.040	-.277	-.143	-.195	-.155	-.016
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 237	-.058	-.029	.021	-.366	.190	-.201	.037	-.064	-.124	-.141
U FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 238	-.045	.439	.253	-.149	.175	-.178	-.430	-.377	-.372	-.181
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 239	-.151	.085	.133	.198	.144	.256	-.071	-.001	.126	.044
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 240	-.174	.049	.047	.406	.361	.087	-.160	-.113	.189	-.073
U FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 241	-.054	.081	.235	-.398*	.188	.051	.141	.030	-.084	.041
U FC FIRST JOB SES	VAR 242	-.028	.158	.233	-.184	.226	.143	-.064	-.078	-.037	-.080
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 243	-.052	.024	.204	.015	.288	0.	-.084	.060	.019	-.017
U FATHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 244	-.159	-.083	-.122	-.013	-.035	.280	.080	.156	.091	.066

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR	119	-.292*	-.406**	-.336*	.355	.093	-.593**	-.027	.037	.102	.128
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR	120	-.383**	-.369**	-.354*	.350	-.051	-.543**	-.016	.109	.147	.353
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR	121	-.101	-.310*	-.201	.290	.223	-.448**	-.020	-.042	.009	-.121
FAMILY SIZE	VAR	122	-.097	.149	.170	-.032	-.076	-.004	-.073	.021	.036	0.
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR	123	.138	-.116	-.065	.158	-.175	-.218	-.048	-.138	.278	-.152
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR	124	-.009	-.085	-.075	-.067	-.220	-.021	.031	-.209	.242	-.162
ADC ASSISTED	VAR	125	.143	.109	.091	.215	-.132	.210	-.167	-.136	.352**	.099
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR	126	-.199	-.296*	-.237	.372*	-.065	-.319*	.071	.019	.179	.259
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR	127	-.439**	-.126	-.151	.144	.010	-.408**	-.017	.141	-.142	.100
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	128	.116	.049	.050	.011	-.138	-.097	-.010	.024	.218	.221
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	129	-.012	-.190	-.143	-.092	-.203	-.157	-.428	-.380	.228	-.406
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR	130	-.077	-.058	-.110	.205	-.100	.081	-.153	.038	.013	.029
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR	131	.055	-.049	-.025	.063	.074	.107	-.073	-.043	.039	-.087
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR	132	-.165	-.236	-.224	-.048	.010	-.030	-.196	.042	-.014	.045
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR	133	-.102	-.146	-.204	-.038	.053	.066	-.010	-.046	-.085	-.070
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR	134	-.304*	-.125	-.178	-.102	-.059	-.102	-.082	.251	-.283*	.204
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR	135	.054	-.234	-.203	-.097	.023	.066	-.211	-.125	.031	-.152
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR	136	-.357	-.285	-.260	.116	-.109	-.125	-.215	.036	-.064	-.052
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR	137	-.007	-.104	-.095	.243	.109	-.087	.143	-.057	-.074	-.053
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR	138	.017	-.188	-.170	.321	.168	0.	-.220	-.017	-.098	.004
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR	139	-.008	.068	.114	.099	-.028	.063	-.086	.047	-.018	-.058
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR	140	.268	.036	.076	-.281	.214	-.152	.215	-.154	.081	-.226
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	141	-.065	-.124	-.076	-.073	.109	-.315*	.324*	.131	.015	.118
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	142	-.034	-.073	-.026	-.257	.142	-.257*	.206	.021	.026	-.013
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	143	-.006	-.030	.021	-.311	.001	-.080	-.105	.084	.131	.112
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	144	-.020	.061	.077	-.393*	.054	-.085	-.057	.028	.073	.002
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	145	-.301	-.241	-.200	.541*	-.313	-.187	-.131	.346	.168	.589**
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	146	-.173	-.022	-.002	.288	.010	-.265	.172	-.046	.071	.279
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	147	.075	-.302	-.324	-.385	-.448	-.384	-.240	-.009	.483*	.205
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	148	.157	-.110	-.116	-.143	.563**	.018	-.170	-.011	.128	.054
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR	149	-.316*	-.168	-.093	.405*	.029	-.136	.197	-.127	-.126	-.233
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	150	.175	.069	.072	-.029	.046	-.157	.287	.042	.057	.130
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	151	.147	.098	.084	-.230	.287	-.066	.007	.039	-.090	-.087
FC JOB PRES DIS IF	VAR	152	.267	.159	.195	-.112	.276	-.065	.360*	.132	-.087	-.119
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR	153	-.011	-.044	-.038	-.126	.073	-.132	.172	.079	-.178	-.025
FC JOB PRES DIS IM	VAR	154	.141	-.006	.073	-.170	.113	0.	.222	.179	.104	.135
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR	155	-.146	-.289*	-.211	.299	.120	-.028	.156	.180	-.182	.219
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR	156	-.283	.051	-.094	.092	-.151	.104	-.232	-.121	.099	-.106
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR	157	-.421**	-.122	-.167	.132	.138	-.228	-.362*	.271	-.234	.233
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR	158	-.104	-.248	-.210	.131	.117	-.199	.160	.073	-.156	.043
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR	159	.295*	-.018	.047	.023	-.044	.181	.172	-.125	.186	-.063
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR	160	-.262	-.561**	-.440**	.222	-.077	-.265*	-.030	.104	.048	.192
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR	161	-.180	-.125	-.005	.216	.029	-.128	.069	.041	.092	.099
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	162	-.448**	-.358*	-.257	.832**	-.229	-.064	.244	.232	-.160	.430
REPEAT GRADE	VAR	163	-.065	-.084	-.137	-.198	.008	-.127	-.104	-.059	.035	-.076
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR	164	-.241	-.258	-.315	0.	.142	-.331	-.042	.260	-.315	.167
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR	165	.048	.356**	.319*	-.651**	.106	-.031	.098	-.272*	-.071	-.350*
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR	166	.130	.703**	.349**	-.412*	-.094	.133	-.104	-.144	.049	-.168
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR	167	.206	.447**	.254*	-.231	-.177	.156	-.116	-.052	.059	.014
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR	168	.225	.853**	.915**	-.469**	-.029	.315*	.017	-.134	.057	-.231

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178
FIGHTING	VAR	169	1.000	.421**	.487**	-.496**	-.022	.441**	.083	-.120	.279*	-.095
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	.421**	1.000	.905**	-.621**	-.100	.365**	-.042	-.190	.109	-.253
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	.487**	.905**	1.000	-.522**	-.082	.399**	.008	-.197	.132	-.285
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	-.496**	-.621**	-.522**	1.000	.021	-.145	.264	.278	-.188	.384
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	-.022	-.100	-.082	.021	1.000	-.114	.044	.055	-.276*	-.125
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	.441**	.365**	.399**	-.145	-.114	1.000	-.141	-.076	.055	-.130
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	.083	-.042	.008	.264	.044	-.141	1.000	.203	-.195	.111
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	-.120	-.190	-.197	.278	.055	-.076	.203	1.000	-.418**	1.000
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	.279*	.109	.132	-.188	-.276*	.055	-.195	-.418**	1.000	0.
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	-.095	-.253	-.285	.384	-.125	-.130	.111	1.000	0.	1.000
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	-.067	-.233	-.185	.264	.026	-.158	1.000**	1.000**	-.376*	1.000**
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	.193	.123	.069	-.477**	.113	-.018	-.102	-.169	.097	-.161
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	.322*	.154	.183	-.240	-.219	.191	-.291*	-.596**	.832**	-.535**
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	.128	.149	.176	.050	-.187	.252*	-.142	.272*	-.013	.313*
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	.384**	.547**	.551**	-.358*	-.027	.228	-.131	-.374**	.274*	-.368*
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	-.159	-.117	-.153	.319	-.085	-.090	-.001	-.086	.011	-.103
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	-.121	-.017	-.121	.095	-.175	-.056	-.081	-.082	.010	-.143
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	.142	.150	.136	-.210	-.098	.079	-.090	-.064	-.174	-.280
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	-.047	.170	.051	-.128	-.205	.044	-.145	-.083	-.012	-.181
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	.203	.241	.228	0.	-.021	.159	.001	-.174	.227	-.135
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	-.099	-.104	-.086	.092	.042	-.047	-.243	.087	-.097	.055
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	-.097	-.079	-.038	-.046	-.181	.056	-.160	.014	.039	.138
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	-.100	-.119	-.056	.068	.077	.001	.059	-.100	.035	-.072
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	-.064	-.058	-.016	.348*	-.098	-.059	.028	-.001	.064	.127
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	-.129	-.180	-.177	.076	-.001	-.243	-.058	-.060	.122	.030
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	.006	.222	.183	-.087	.138	.021	.097	.028	.192	.057
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	-.071	-.017	.061	-.063	.074	.046	-.098	.088	-.284*	0.
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	.068	.191	.178	-.112	.030	.240	-.193	-.292*	.240	-.190
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	-.293*	-.156	-.157	.070	.055	-.264*	-.100	.064	-.031	.090
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	-.243	-.455**	-.419**	.322	-.009	-.448**	-.111	.040	.250	.339
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	-.305*	-.269	-.238	.171	.022	-.494**	.077	.108	.134	.326
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	-.454**	-.240	-.234	.352	-.014	-.373*	.060	.241	-.011	.513**
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	-.109	-.244	-.232	.138	-.027	-.429**	-.046	-.179	.193	-.052
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	-.248	-.497**	-.456**	.140	.022	-.529**	-.013	.115	.111	.235
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	-.227	-.150	-.132	.222	-.151	-.246	.014	.060	-.018	.194
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	-.070	-.210	-.138	.188	.093	-.292*	-.103	-.215	.077	-.271
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	-.009	.001	.091	.002	.138	-.316*	.007	-.171	.248	-.102
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	-.008	-.362*	-.234	.265	.172	-.365*	-.046	-.003	-.050	-.095
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	-.128	-.202	-.099	.284	.204	-.246	-.092	.070	-.255	-.150
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	-.048	-.342*	-.307	.104	.148	-.268	.215	.310	.022	.392
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	-.717	-.478	-.680	.653	-.146	-.452	.185	-.602	-.262	-.600
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	.085	.249	.151	-.301	.201	-.038	-.220	-.094	.164	-.068
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	-.107	.073	.104	-.096	-.016	-.032	-.003	.164	-.045	.167
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	-.132	.074	.046	-.201	-.067	-.167	-.043	.251	-.174	.168
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	.182	-.177	-.105	.030	.009	.110	.081	.110	-.027	.130
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	-.235	.108	.036	-.102	.032	-.145	-.111	-.127	-.043	-.200
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	.035	.138	.097	-.216	-.184	-.103	.030	.003	.108	.098
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	-.165	.108	.071	-.185	-.041	-.100	-.398	-.431*	.038	-.548*
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	-.089	.159	.185	-.150	-.050	.033	-.017	-.122	.150	-.162
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	.012	-.042	-.046	-.170	.098	.140	-.006	-.139	.149	-.082

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                                                    CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION          VAR  NO.      169       170       171       172       173       174       175       176       177       178

DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN          VAR  219    -.149      .204      .158     -.084      .186     -.117     -.015     -.115      .018     -.273
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES      VAP  220    -.220     -.090     -.059      .330     -.346     -.192     -.242      .253      .203      .452*
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES      VAR  221    -.106      .075      .064      .074     -.054     -.151     -.013     -.153      .017      .113
FATHER NEG JOB SES            VAR  222     .027     -.315     -.321      .238      .007     -.381      .184      .440      .108      .551*
MOTHER NEG JOB SES            VAR  223     .180     -.151     -.134     -.097      .277     -.005     -.059      .157      .005      .183
FC NEG JOB SES                VAR  224    -.322*    -.157     -.083      .371*    -.019     -.179      .113     -.178     -.094     -.301
FC IDEAL JOB SES              VAR  225     .173      .145      .149      .044      .059     -.054      .024     -.084      .065     -.109
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT      VAR  226     .089      .045      .101      .104     -.056     -.037      .090      .040     -.007     -.005
STONED SEX                    VAR  227     .231      .628**    .728**   -.294     -.168      .232     -.086     -.139      .015     -.202
JUNE 69 GRADES                VAR  228    -.493**   -.639**   -.554**    .954**    .058     -.190      .260      .330     -.175      .448*
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH      VAR  229     .336**    .012      .051      .052     -.224      .152     -.170     -.234      .453**   -.076
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS          VAR  230    -.238     -.100     -.174      .052     -.014     -.062     -.249      .038      .029      .060
INTROSPECTIVENESS             VAR  231     .210      .041      .151     -.345*    -.198      .206     -.141     -.232      .289*    -.218
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL       VAR  232    -.224     -.134     -.207      .066      .105     -.297*    -.057     -.094     -.019     -.106
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC        VAR  233     .162      .097      .088     -.228      .284     -.055      .013      .051     -.096     -.076
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC      VAR  234     .147      .098      .084     -.230      .287     -.066      .007      .039     -.090     -.087
U FC IDEAL JOB SES            VAR  235     .195      .178      .181      .016      .020     -.066     -.016     -.060      .106     -.058
U FC NEG JOB SES              VAR  236    -.335**   -.174     -.104      .385*    -.011     -.143      .187     -.153     -.109     -.263
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  237     .279     -.063     -.053     -.238      .449**    .009     -.101     -.019      .063     -.037
U FATHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  238     .158     -.250     -.179     -.007     -.198     -.483*     .000      .153      .295      .516
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES       VAR  239    -.082      .046      .041      .098      .007     -.113      .011     -.210      .003     -.030
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES       VAR  240    -.280     -.109     -.059      .401     -.384*    -.271     -.123      .212      .182      .417
U FC SECOND JOB SES           VAR  241    -.019      .056      .072     -.395*     .055     -.094     -.063      .015      .084     -.012
U FC FIRST JOB SES            VAR  242    -.034     -.073     -.026     -.257      .142     -.257*     .206      .021      .026     -.013
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES           VAR  243    -.198      .002     -.035     -.066      .022     -.001     -.402     -.435*    -.015     -.533*
U FATHERS OCCUP SES           VAR  244     .050      .136      .111     -.012     -.134     -.122      .000     -.026      .127      .080
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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR	119	.147	.036	-.060	-.118	-.151	.165	.126	-.143	-.038	-.058
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR	120	.170	.025	.005	-.018	-.092	.239	.167	-.046	-.068	-.070
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR	121	.073	.011	-.116	-.191	-.164	.044	.041	-.211	-.011	-.038
FAMILY SIZE	VAR	122	-.032	-.216	.068	.103	.172	-.204	-.211	.137	-.050	.002
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR	123	-.045	.121	.229	.020	.033	.043	.064	-.240	-.020	-.032
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR	124	-.201	.178	.318*	.184	-.086	.088	.008	-.317*	-.086	-.138
ADC ASSISTED	VAR	125	-.286	-.004	.382**	.140	.326*	.198	.165	-.158	.081	.109
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR	126	-.013	-.139	.156	-.041	-.192	.187	.012	-.139	-.046	-.067
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR	127	.100	.035	-.183	.228	-.175	.118	.092	-.196	.044	-.097
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	128	.061	.035	.093	-.029	-.020	-.275	-.249	-.181	-.081	.123
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	129	-.368	.303	.436*	.003	-.145	.142	-.037	-.113	-.100	.008
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR	130	.005	0.	.005	.092	-.222	.051	.072	-.095	.048	-.001
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR	131	-.226	.235	.152	.026	.059	.044	-.060	.062	-.098	-.079
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR	132	-.082	.080	.080	.234	-.114	-.063	-.097	-.078	-.135	-.107
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR	133	-.069	-.063	-.102	.145	-.218	-.176	-.252*	-.252	-.210	-.045
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR	134	.179	.018	-.274*	-.017	-.331**	-.246	-.159	-.012	-.009	-.252
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR	135	-.300	.299*	.183	-.119	-.275	.022	.016	-.199	.023	-.176
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR	136	-.035	-.270	.042	-.154	.055	.167	.323	.394	.297	-.207
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR	137	.122	-.120	-.171	-.274*	.139	.075	-.028	-.089	-.211	-.181
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR	138	-.073	.096	0.	.064	-.167	.092	.090	.069	.136	.001
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR	139	.058	-.194	.114	-.057	-.101	.076	.059	.076	.109	.195
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR	140	-.070	.100	.060	-.171	.207	.080	.083	-.155	.054	.090
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	141	.352*	.058	-.212	-.183	.110	.371**	.232	-.100	.013	-.061
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	142	.204	.169	-.143	-.120	.112	.233	.139	-.239	-.054	-.111
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	143	.172	-.185	-.046	.079	.154	-.140	-.125	.098	-.131	-.166
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	144	.154	-.084	-.104	.139	.270	-.148	-.146	-.020	-.130	-.054
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	145	.436	-.185	-.216	.097	-.138	.417*	.049	-.203	-.190	-.311
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	146	-.050	-.154	-.069	.088	-.060	.004	-.355	-.364	-.414*	-.167
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	147	-.289	.102	.559*	-.021	-.146	.108	-.047	-.043	-.029	.049
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	148	-.217	.230	.142	-.129	.066	.271	-.063	-.015	-.198	-.244
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR	149	-.278	-.136	-.044	-.121	-.091	-.015	-.140	.017	-.200	-.047
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	150	.203	-.036	-.114	-.125	.173	.189	.058	.176	.041	.132
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	151	.176	-.231	-.135	-.126	.256	-.385**	-.221	.094	.022	.345*
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR	152	.341	-.069	-.239	-.071	.004	-.011	-.097	-.031	-.082	.134
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR	153	.184	.011	-.271*	-.159	.165	.386**	.290*	-.104	-.005	-.153
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR	154	.425*	.170	-.078	-.169	.262	.142	.236	.111	.156	.118
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR	155	.200	-.209	-.151	.141	-.349**	-.221	-.315*	-.165	-.328*	-.030
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR	156	-.262	-.091	.124	-.116	-.306	.056	-.021	.169	.000	.039
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR	157	.256	-.054	-.356*	.058	-.309*	.102	-.015	-.001	-.060	-.112
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR	158	.203	.004	-.161	.026	-.258	.087	.010	.168	-.041	.085
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR	159	-.003	-.016	.237	.115	.081	.096	.084	.079	.032	.243
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR	160	.092	-.079	.038	.017	-.478**	-.234	-.323*	-.199	-.327*	-.171
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR	161	.161	-.154	.033	-.089	-.117	-.071	-.265	-.224	-.298	.367*
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	162	.232	-.301	-.191	.021	-.237	.217	.161	-.164	.045	.045
REPEAT GRADE	VAR	163	-.112	.190	.035	.043	-.201	.199	.141	-.065	.081	-.050
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR	164	.164	0.	-.265	.217	-.610**	-.293	-.302	-.186	-.187	-.254
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR	165	-.191	-.064	.011	-.175	.429**	-.056	.056	.278	.133	.079
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR	166	-.221	.126	.026	.007	.314*	.014	.167	.067	.274*	.114
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR	167	.008	.174	.000	-.016	.144	-.060	-.023	-.085	.041	.046
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR	168	-.174	.030	.136	.141	.420**	-.121	-.082	.171	.074	.194

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188
FIGHTING	VAR	169	-.067	.193	.322*	.128	.384**	-.159	-.121	.142	-.047	.203
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	-.233	.123	.154	.149	.547**	-.117	-.017	.150	.170	.241
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	-.185	.069	.183	.176	.551**	-.153	-.121	.136	.051	.228
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.264	-.477**	-.240	.050	-.358*	.319	.095	-.210	-.128	0.
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	.026	.113	-.219	-.187	-.027	-.085	-.175	-.098	-.205	-.021
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	-.158	-.018	.191	.252*	.228	-.090	-.056	.079	.044	.159
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	1.000**	-.102	-.291*	-.142	-.131	-.001	-.081	-.090	-.145	.001
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	1.000**	-.169	-.596**	.272*	-.374**	-.086	-.082	-.064	-.083	-.174
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	-.376*	.097	.832**	-.013	.274*	.011	.010	-.174	-.012	.227
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	1.000**	-.161	-.535**	.313*	-.368*	-.103	-.143	-.280	-.181	-.135
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	1.000	-.330*	-.703**	.075	-.390**	-.005	.076	-.055	.023	-.089
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	-.330*	1.000	.189	-.031	.153	.113	.110	-.048	.093	.000
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	-.703**	.189	1.000	.071	.308*	-.073	-.060	.019	-.015	.268*
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	.075	-.031	.071	1.000	.110	-.291*	-.305*	-.256	-.235	-.009
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	-.390**	.153	.308*	.110	1.000	.010	.079	.093	.099	.158
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	-.005	.113	-.073	-.291*	.010	1.000	.734**	.051	.343**	-.038
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	.076	.110	-.060	-.305*	.079	.734**	1.000	.379**	.853**	.036
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	-.055	-.048	.019	-.256	.093	.051	.379**	1.000	.660**	.185
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	.023	.093	-.015	-.235	.099	.343**	.853**	.660**	1.000	.188
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	-.089	.000	.268*	-.009	.158	-.038	.036	.185	.188	1.000
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	.141	-.167	-.102	-.225	-.052	-.080	.180	.089	.298*	.014
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	-.137	.018	.117	.026	.017	-.049	-.020	.056	.007	-.300*
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	-.127	.076	.049	-.175	-.146	.005	-.061	-.169	-.008	.265*
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	.072	-.207	.035	.000	.007	.107	.006	.061	-.100	.118
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	-.144	.173	.090	.127	.015	.000	-.040	.077	-.165	.011
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	-.038	.095	.111	.132	.164	-.017	.029	-.284	-.013	.109
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	.109	-.145	-.183	-.083	.094	-.195	-.133	.033	-.082	-.261*
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	-.373*	.203	.361**	.120	.182	-.011	.105	.010	.153	.403**
KNOWLG OF GFPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	-.132	.237	-.041	.315*	-.182	.092	-.071	-.084	-.086	-.157
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	.044	.141	.084	.092	-.148	.202	.100	-.250	-.152	-.125
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	.264	.043	-.039	-.111	-.109	.265	.205	.007	.057	.199
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	.284	-.237	-.140	-.045	-.031	.112	.067	.111	-.053	-.026
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	-.151	.161	.194	-.119	.009	.027	.008	.019	-.122	.030
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	.136	.114	-.014	-.197	-.339*	.025	-.084	-.046	-.236	-.110
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.086	-.271	-.016	.017	.056	.113	.080	.083	-.010	-.073
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	-.228	.177	.110	.045	-.075	-.095	-.065	-.246	.018	.082
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	-.054	.226	.030	-.344*	.144	.059	.053	-.273	-.039	-.066
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	.016	-.144	-.085	-.250	-.281	-.012	-.004	-.013	-.014	.040
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	.205	-.103	-.348*	-.110	-.119	.033	.085	-.085	.099	.051
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	.354*	-.146	-.048	.095	-.327*	.001	-.061	-.026	-.199	-.179
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	-.302	.136	-.426	-.543	.199	.554	.783*	.446	.674	-.408
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	-.186	.211	.208	.173	.126	-.251	-.196	-.181	-.039	.152
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	.116	-.113	-.013	.224	.140	-.189	-.136	.119	.021	.139
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	.266	-.032	-.178	.172	-.154	-.044	.129	.171	.211	.097
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	.235	-.078	-.078	-.257*	-.043	-.030	-.116	.137	-.145	-.087
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	-.187	.090	.012	.183	-.009	.099	.166	-.018	.177	.093
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	.078	.113	.014	-.026	.070	-.116	-.066	-.166	.096	.083
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	-.377	.305	.267	-.095	.033	.176	.040	.018	.049	.197
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	-.259	.008	.160	.287*	.094	-.069	-.206	-.187	-.170	-.112
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	-.217	.287*	.207	.164	.124	-.020	-.087	-.156	-.098	-.170

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PATHWAYS PROJECT INITIAL DATA-TEXT ANALYSES                                              APRIL 30, 1970    PAGE   21
                                                    CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION         VAR  NO.     179      180      181      182      183      184      185      186      187      188

DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN         VAR  219   -.283    -.086     .135    -.214     .365*    .124     .041     .164     .011    -.130
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  220    .376    -.228    -.169     .310    -.109     .352    -.009    -.278    -.222    -.178
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  221   -.193    -.131    -.015    -.038    -.101    -.028    -.259    -.201    -.218    -.167
FATHER NEG JOB SES           VAR  222    .227    -.052     .119     .290    -.220     .251     .063    -.295    -.060     .227
MOTHER NEG JOB SES           VAR  223   -.027     .205    -.003     .045     .001     .370*    .107     .044    -.001    -.045
FC NEG JOB SES               VAR  224   -.304*   -.112    -.024    -.147    -.188     .015    -.102    -.020    -.182    -.131
FC IDEAL JOB SES             VAR  225   0.         .116     .042    -.085     .131     .065     .041    -.037     .061     .133
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT     VAR  226    .124    -.159    -.039    -.127     .035    -.028     .064     .141     .095    -.078
STONED SEX                   VAR  227   -.140     .058     .041     .206     .485**  -.129    -.121    -.032     .060     .219
JUNE 69 GRADES               VAR  228    .268    -.469**  -.190     .034    -.442**   .297     .074    -.215    -.153    -.054
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH     VAR  229   -.241    -.004     .636**   .035     .086     .130     .181     .254     .165     .232
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS         VAR  230    .054     .075    -.091    -.185     .016     .211     .273*   -.038     .210    -.101
INTROSPECTIVENESS            VAR  231   -.148     .051     .368**   .019     .133     .145     .159     .173     .152     .226
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL      VAR  232   -.310*    .347**   .059     .176    -.163     .294*    .127    -.098     .091     .089
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC       VAR  233    .189    -.229    -.134    -.124     .245    -.375*   -.230     .070     .009     .358*
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC     VAR  234    .176    -.231    -.135    -.126     .256    -.385**  -.221     .094     .022     .345*
U FC IDEAL JOB SES           VAR  235    .013     .046     .076    -.063     .138     .003     .018     .004     .097     .147
U FC NEG JOB SES             VAR  236   -.311*   -.120    -.056    -.145    -.170    -.003    -.125    -.009    -.188    -.141
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES         VAR  237   -.132     .344     .025    -.056     .057     .270     .020     .014    -.096    -.056
U FATHER NEG JOB SES         VAR  238   -.011     .206     .348     .384    -.112     .150    -.048    -.272    -.131     .169
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES      VAR  239   -.291    -.128     .038     .061    -.113    -.101    -.406*   -.215    -.392*   -.149
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES      VAR  240    .363    -.197    -.210     .259    -.093     .419*   -.007    -.257    -.222    -.172
U FC SECOND JOB SES          VAR  241    .153    -.081    -.099     .131     .258    -.151    -.151    -.016    -.132    -.056
U FC FIRST JOB SES           VAR  242    .204     .169    -.143    -.120     .112     .233     .139    -.239    -.054    -.111
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES          VAR  243   -.387     .257     .282    -.033    -.166     .127    -.043     .010    -.067     .168
U FATHERS OCCUP SES          VAR  244    .039     .123     .015    -.018     .085    -.149    -.100    -.163     .071     .152
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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR	119	.170	-.027	-.013	-.019	.409**	-.156	-.023	-.025	.329*	.756**
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR	120	.099	.053	-.075	.098	.492**	-.117	-.074	.015	.396**	.823**
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR	121	.194	-.126	.041	-.123	.179	-.131	.064	-.077	.133	.410**
FAMILY SIZE	VAR	122	-.124	.044	.046	-.106	-.102	-.064	.196	.016	.007	-.282
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR	123	.050	.019	-.096	0.	-.079	.135	.077	-.054	-.091	.201
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR	124	-.244	-.107	.065	-.049	-.019	-.041	-.147	-.132	.192	.213
ADC ASSISTED	VAR	125	-.209	.137	.070	-.035	.047	.123	-.219	.227	-.041	.050
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR	126	.181	-.002	.185	-.044	.119	-.150	-.095	-.070	.252	.533**
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR	127	-.078	-.005	.021	.051	.279*	.084	-.026	-.014	.545**	.439**
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	128	.077	-.142	-.003	-.064	-.193	.194	.134	.318*	-.052	-.000
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	129	.097	.110	.193	-.129	.128	-.282	-.297	.084	.211	.597*
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR	130	.078	-.091	-.175	.063	.059	-.014	-.180	.022	.058	.043
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR	131	-.050	-.143	.093	-.075	-.124	.189	-.131	.009	.041	.020
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR	132	.006	-.086	.081	-.017	.077	.191	-.085	.143	.414**	.252
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR	133	-.120	-.155	.041	-.168	-.035	-.207	-.155	-.063	.088	-.203
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR	134	.177	.033	.044	.038	-.107	-.118	.117	-.143	.025	-.171
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR	135	.134	-.051	.270	-.177	-.322*	.147	.119	-.112	-.094	-.250
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR	136	.173	.271	-.182	-.005	.164	-.205	.258	.065	.070	.076
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR	137	-.006	.082	-.061	.251	.074	-.041	.183	-.295*	-.236	-.001
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR	138	.187	.049	.065	.063	.004	-.245	-.139	.010	.312*	.325*
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR	139	-.014	-.067	.070	-.006	-.401**	-.017	-.037	.118	-.134	-.206
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR	140	.015	-.274	.038	-.154	-.006	.258	.036	-.003	-.140	-.096
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	141	-.002	-.301*	.005	.153	.168	.058	-.008	-.161	.067	.170
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	142	.048	-.195	.060	.074	.128	.086	.065	-.099	.052	.155
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	143	.076	-.037	.059	-.206	.157	.083	.049	-.131	.086	.152
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	144	.012	-.170	.081	-.175	.200	.150	.055	-.132	.076	.091
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	145	-.223	.286	.096	-.185	-.045	-.009	.078	-.232	-.004	.556*
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	146	-.338	-.062	-.085	-.298	-.092	.243	0.	-.070	-.111	-.029
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	147	.337	-.279	.242	-.085	.070	-.127	-.191	-.035	.304	.532
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	148	-.068	.199	-.026	-.117	.034	.065	.116	.054	.020	.037
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR	149	-.085	-.132	.189	-.035	-.114	.012	-.019	.098	.050	.159
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	150	-.139	-.054	.064	.241	.146	-.049	-.289	-.128	.157	.035
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	151	.268	-.390**	.155	-.286	-.066	.098	.081	.064	-.247	-.182
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR	152	-.024	-.358*	-.248	.230	.102	.234	-.097	-.219	-.101	-.507**
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR	153	.101	-.157	-.018	.137	.101	.045	.011	-.267*	-.131	-.008
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR	154	.160	-.111	.066	.148	.248	-.089	.078	-.106	.090	.136
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR	155	-.014	.147	.014	.124	-.037	-.142	-.045	-.048	-.037	-.049
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR	156	.086	-.008	-.116	.137	.160	.013	-.206	.102	-.041	-.136
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR	157	.297*	.079	-.068	-.012	.167	.024	-.030	-.007	.345*	.327
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR	158	.094	-.040	-.106	.058	.165	-.042	-.077	.111	.108	.222
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR	159	-.170	-.131	-.141	.197	.006	-.089	-.055	.137	-.304*	-.222
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR	160	.132	.055	.174	-.042	.033	.021	.106	-.200	.167	.426**
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR	161	.114	-.041	.011	.132	.045	.084	.198	.043	-.132	.202
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	162	.106	.231	.066	.338	.034	-.132	-.005	-.068	-.167	.206
REPEAT GRADE	VAR	163	.077	-.040	.249	-.074	.040	-.004	-.163	-.067	.191	.172
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR	164	-.083	-.142	-.071	-.167	.022	.196	.069	.011	.442*	-.110
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR	165	-.026	.100	.020	.152	.091	.093	.208	.147	-.060	-.368*
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR	166	-.109	-.143	-.174	-.069	-.098	.178	-.165	.107	-.097	-.363*
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR	167	-.199	-.120	-.201	-.004	-.071	-.064	-.040	-.106	-.224	-.216
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR	168	-.040	.023	-.025	-.029	-.199	.249	.034	.165	-.100	-.422**

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198
FIGHTING	VAR	169	-.099	-.097	-.100	-.064	-.129	.006	-.071	.068	-.293*	-.243
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	-.104	-.079	-.119	-.058	-.180	.222	-.017	.191	-.156	-.455**
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	-.086	-.038	-.056	-.016	-.177	.183	.061	.178	-.157	-.419**
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.092	-.046	.068	.348*	.076	-.087	-.063	-.112	.070	.322
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	.042	-.181	.077	-.098	-.001	.138	.074	.030	.055	-.009
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	-.047	.056	.001	-.059	-.243	.021	.046	.240	-.264*	-.448**
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	-.243	-.160	.059	.028	-.058	.097	-.098	-.193	-.100	-.111
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	.087	.014	-.100	-.001	-.060	.028	.088	-.292*	.064	.040
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	-.097	.039	.035	.064	.122	.192	-.284*	.240	-.031	.250
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	.055	.138	-.072	.127	.030	.057	0.	-.190	.090	.339
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	.141	-.137	-.127	.072	-.144	-.038	.109	-.373*	-.132	.044
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	-.167	.018	.076	-.207	.173	.095	-.145	.203	.237	.141
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	-.102	.117	.049	.035	.090	.111	-.183	.361**	-.041	.084
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	-.225	.026	-.175	.000	.127	.132	-.083	.120	.315*	.092
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	-.052	.017	-.146	.007	.015	.164	.094	.182	-.182	-.148
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	-.080	-.049	.005	.107	.000	-.017	-.195	-.011	.092	.202
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	.180	-.020	-.061	.006	-.040	.029	-.133	.105	-.071	.100
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	.089	.056	-.169	.061	.077	-.284	.033	.010	-.084	-.250
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	.298*	.007	-.008	-.100	-.165	-.013	-.082	.153	-.086	-.152
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	.014	-.300*	.265*	.118	.011	.109	-.261*	.403**	-.157	-.125
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	1.000	-.019	.016	.066	-.196	.076	.211	-.033	-.189	-.014
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	-.019	1.000	-.044	.060	.074	-.235	.239	-.023	.043	.039
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	.016	-.044	1.000	-.087	-.289*	.054	-.261	-.006	.108	.060
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	.066	.060	-.087	1.000	.237	-.008	-.025	.011	.091	.027
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	-.196	.074	-.289*	.237	1.000	-.121	-.030	.118	.424**	.472**
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	.076	-.235	.054	-.008	-.121	1.000	-.071	.361**	.022	-.063
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	.211	.239	-.261	-.025	-.030	-.071	1.000	-.002	-.351**	-.248
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	-.033	-.023	-.006	.011	.118	.361**	-.002	1.000	.135	.078
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	-.189	.043	.108	.091	.424**	.022	-.351**	.135	1.000	.541**
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	-.014	.039	.060	.027	.472**	-.063	-.248	.078	.541**	1.000
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	.017	-.164	.212	.040	.125	-.028	-.266	.021	.330*	.602**
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	.146	-.061	-.151	.063	.275	.020	-.011	-.068	.136	.358*
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	.155	-.134	-.040	.213	.547**	-.189	.121	.069	.274	.559**
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	-.072	.041	-.021	.131	.374*	-.252	-.080	-.094	.185	.577**
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.167	.163	-.210	.167	.138	-.104	.111	-.028	-.060	.202
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	.006	-.257	.225	-.261	.085	-.128	-.135	.040	.148	.241
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	.025	.110	.102	.015	.060	-.013	-.050	-.026	-.002	.285
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	.186	.031	.060	.010	.079	-.139	.061	-.091	.055	.197
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	.234	-.079	-.085	-.033	.204	-.092	.308*	-.034	.075	.226
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	.111	-.228	-.092	-.246	.190	-.043	-.002	-.163	.267	.432**
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	.650	-.752	-.608	.318	.079	-.114	.292	.160	-.192	.513
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	-.210	-.073	.219	-.149	-.098	.118	-.231	.137	.124	-.150
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	-.123	.043	.140	-.148	-.002	-.006	.113	.118	.119	-.230
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	.016	-.216	.014	-.049	.050	-.142	-.025	-.097	-.002	-.178
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	.344**	-.107	.075	-.074	-.159	-.211	.099	-.252	-.346**	-.068
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	-.304*	-.032	-.159	.055	.218	.122	-.060	.191	.316*	.128
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	.136	-.259	.048	-.185	-.230	.245	-.032	.165	-.140	-.141
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	-.112	.113	.222	-.068	-.093	-.197	-.132	.195	-.027	.171
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	-.171	-.007	-.071	-.161	.083	.073	-.141	.065	.279*	.035
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	-.248	-.128	.160	-.295*	-.005	-.024	-.169	-.014	.188	.074

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PATHWAYS PROJECT INITIAL DATA-TEXT ANALYSES                                                      APRIL 30, 1970    PAGE    24
                                                         CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
VARIABLE DESCRIPTION        VAR  NO.      189      190      191      192      193      194      195      196      197      198

DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN        VAR  219    -.049     .018    -.311    -.048    -.006    -.009     .100     .171    -.031    -.006
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES    VAR  220    -.231     .184     .157     .069     .011    -.027    -.028    -.182     .192     .468*
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES    VAR  221    -.175     .066    -.097    -.225    -.105     .071     .107    -.122    -.104    -.178
FATHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  222     .202    -.401     .186     .003    -.041     .245    -.334    -.116     .415     .357
MOTHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  223    -.179     .273     .066    -.124     .211     .090     .007     .144     .247     .079
FC NEG JOB SES              VAR  224    -.047    -.117     .074    -.071     .015    -.048    -.051     .134     .145     .219
FC IDEAL JOB SES            VAR  225    -.099    -.068     .215    -.034    -.108    -.098    -.084    -.082    -.025    -.061
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESONT    VAR  226     .084    -.067    -.055    -.180    -.057    -.048     .196    -.227    -.268*   -.002
STONED SEX                  VAR  227    -.073    -.035    -.043    0.       -.028     .039     .247     .191    -.018    -.256
JUNE 69 GRADES              VAR  228     .156     .013     .062     .266     .066    -.092    -.009    -.109    -.005     .339
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH    VAR  229     .125     .033     .009    -.004    -.122    -.071    -.091     .117    -.159     .023
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS        VAR  230     .236     .013     .173     .111    -.086     .269*   -.094    -.072     .025     .054
INTROSPECTIVENESS           VAR  231     .170     .294*    .025     .228    -.024    -.204     .014    -.064    -.151    -.157
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL     VAR  232    -.108    -.113     .242     .021     .304*    .103    -.446**   .207     .766**   .505**
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC      VAR  233     .274    -.371*    .176    -.279    -.081     .081     .071     .044    -.257    -.186
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC    VAR  234     .268    -.390**   .155    -.286    -.066     .098     .081     .064    -.247    -.182
U FC IDEAL JOB SES          VAR  235    -.064    -.076     .192    -.043    -.107    -.118    -.099    -.120    -.044    -.053
U FC NEG JOB SES            VAR  236    -.069    -.093     .053    -.101    -.016    -.048    -.041     .092     .101     .159
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES        VAR  237    -.265     .235     .129    -.206     .249     .046    -.014     .128     .180     .166
U FATHER NEG JOB SES        VAR  238     .175    -.356     .238     .055     .201     .158    -.289     .023     .563*    .638*
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  239    -.211     .013    -.077    -.304    -.082     .167     .129    -.087    -.143    -.198
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  240    -.315     .179     .193     .048     .023     .001    -.053    -.180     .175     .450
U FC SECOND JOB SES         VAR  241     .002    -.175     .088    -.168     .199     .144     .059    -.144     .071     .084
U FC FIRST JOB SES          VAR  242     .048    -.195     .060     .074     .128     .086     .065    -.099     .052     .155
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES         VAR  243    -.187     .216     .230     .001    -.132    -.301    -.187     .188    -.034     .116
U FATHERS OCCUP SES         VAR  244     .148    -.255     .093    -.120    -.201     .253    -.067     .240    -.061    -.009
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                                                CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION          VAR  NO.        199      200      201      202      203      204      205      206      207      208

TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC         VAR  119      .623**   .439**   .647**   .610**   .354*    .490**   .517**   .556**   .608**   .506**
VERBAL I.Q.                   VAR  120      .724**   .709**   .676**   .630**   .571**   .101     .271     .128     .221     .485**
PERFORMANCE I.Q.              VAR  121      .301*    .025     .397**   .353*   -.016     .713**   .585**   .803**   .796**   .347*
FAMILY SIZE                   VAR  122     -.060     .083    -.005    -.117     .065    -.095    -.132    -.232    -.052     .047
FATHERS EDUCATION             VAR  123      .159    -.188     .300     .189    -.064     .372*    .346*    .212     .286     .035
MOTHERS EDUCATION             VAR  124      .216     .088     .197     .199    -.093     .264    -.014    -.108    -.236     .085
ADC ASSISTED                  VAR  125     -.130     .044    -.208    -.204     .109    -.014     .213    -.122    -.310*   -.401*
SCHOOL GROUP IQ               VAR  126      .482**   .432*    .447**   .433*    .396*    .456**   .282     .380*    .170     .460*
GRADE IN SCHOOL               VAR  127      .107     .190     .099    -.003     .115     .093     .102     .231     .354*    .364*
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE          VAR  128     -.100    -.049     .076    -.115    -.326     .036     .165     .005    -.040    -.229
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE          VAR  129      .409     .213     .534*    .314     .211     .410     .110     .340    -.145     .405
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT        VAR  130     -.224    -.020    -.123    -.012     .053     .086    -.091    -.041     .087    -.050
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE           VAR  131      .067    -.012    -.045     .015    -.154     .001    -.124    -.141    -.272    -.013
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE        VAR  132      .247     .017     .216     .319*   -.031     .103    -.147    -.018     .019     .212
NO OF CLOSE MALES             VAR  133     -.150    -.321*   -.229    -.024    -.203     .193    -.050    -.179    -.098    -.228
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT         VAR  134     -.123    -.110    -.132     .146    -.171    -.023    -.202    -.199    -.073    -.028
RELATIONS WITH FATHER         VAR  135     -.108    -.391*   -.147    -.111    -.344     .099     .020     .191    -.125    -.179
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG           VAR  136      .136     .213     .313     .016     .298    -.109    -.215    -.076     .169     .158
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY        VAR  137      .108     .157     .132     .214     .010    -.100     .231     .013    -.012    -.078
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE       VAR  138      .156     .012     .157     .127    -.149     .137     .157     .224     .238    -.010
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB        VAR  139     -.014     .019    -.409*   -.052     .078    -.042     .194     .367*    .045     .055
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB           VAR  140     -.061    -.008    -.018    -.256    -.085    -.158    -.046     .155    -.026     .393
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE           VAR  141      .276     .129     .231     .168     .218     .109     .043     .087     .187     .326*
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES       VAR  142      .170     .028     .162     .150     .099     .184     .178     .191     .258     .202
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE           VAR  143      .273     .215     .094     .242    -.113     .085    -.103     .074     .053     .296
FC SECOND JOB SES             VAR  144      .185     .280     .040     .149     .075     .025    -.047     .022     .124     .183
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST      VAR  145      .544*    .399    -.117     .398     .061     .193     .085    -.043     .065     .232
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST      VAR  146      .022     .139    -.166     .093     .036     .228     .188     .042    -.058     .147
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES      VAR  147      .256    -.071     .569     .028     .089     .272    -.097     .451    -.007     .538
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES      VAR  148     -.082    -.260    -.114    -.057    -.120    -.081     .045     .097     .095     .194
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI      VAR  149      .223     .232     .191     .213     .142     .211     .125     .134     .006    -.010
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE        VAR  150      .189     .056     .218    -.318     .168    -.024    -.039    -.069     .094     .183
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE         VAR  151     -.061     .034    -.006     .005    -.135     .180    -.194     .061     .270     .140
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F            VAR  152     -.279    -.215    -.354     .362    -.211    -.209    -.058     .163    -.003    -.105
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER         VAR  153      .040     .069    -.040    -.002     .241    -.059    -.127    -.034     .056     .177
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M            VAR  154      .298     .131     .314     .209     .003    -.073     .036    -.168     .123     .301
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL            VAR  155     -.180    -.111    -.129    -.070     .107     .060    -.303*    .176     .061     .188
COULD FC BE IDEAL             VAR  156     -.172     .105     .046     .001     .188    -.199    -.499**  -.447*   -.161    -.074
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS             VAR  157      .125     .358*   -.051     .257     .278    -.072    -.020     .259     .188     .209
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS         VAR  158      .358*    .370*    .138     .411*    .344*    .086     .109     .184     .228     .195
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP            VAR  159      .196     .026     .094     .055     .004     .104     .135    -.219     .061    -.067
JUNE 67 GRADES                VAR  160      .266     .050     .399**   .473**   .012     .258    -.048     .304     .344*    .450**
JUNE 68 GRADES                VAR  161      .272     .260     .351*    .512**   .176    -.124    0.        .135     .236     .234
JUNE 69 GRADES                VAR  162      .169     .231     .040     .173     .249     .284     .182     .197     .275    -.224
REPEAT GRADE                  VAR  163      .193     .085     .044    -.072     .061     .090    -.033     .046    -.086     .206
DROP OUT GRADE                VAR  164     -.169    -.201    -.125     .047    -.467     .429     .093     .317     .223     .427
DROP OR STAY IN               VAR  165     -.014    -.021     .009    -.244    -.116    -.135     .038    -.246    -.147    -.228
SCHOOL DEFIANCE               VAR  166     -.233    -.169    -.180    -.409**  -.130    -.268    -.165    -.470**  -.320*   -.314
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT             VAR  167     -.114    -.100    -.108    -.165    -.015    -.092    -.003    -.353*   -.276    -.360*
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED         VAR  168     -.148    -.095    -.260    -.430**  -.123    -.207     .077    -.358*   -.174    -.307
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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208
FIGHTING	VAR 169	-.305*	-.454**	-.109	-.248	-.227	-.070	-.009	-.008	-.128	-.048
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR 170	-.269	-.240	-.244	-.497**	-.150	-.210	.001	-.362*	-.202	-.342*
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR 171	-.238	-.234	-.232	-.456**	-.132	-.138	.091	-.234	-.099	-.307
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR 172	.171	.352	.138	.140	.222	.188	.002	.265	.284	.104
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR 173	.022	-.014	-.027	.022	-.151	.093	.138	.172	.204	.148
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR 174	-.494**	-.373*	-.429**	-.529**	-.246	-.292*	-.316*	-.365*	-.246	-.268
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR 175	.077	.060	-.046	-.013	.014	-.103	.007	-.046	-.092	.215
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR 176	.108	.241	-.179	.115	.060	-.215	-.171	-.003	.070	.310
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR 177	.134	-.011	.193	.111	-.018	.077	.248	-.050	-.255	.022
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR 178	.326	.513**	-.052	.235	.194	-.271	-.102	-.095	-.150	.392
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR 179	.264	.284	-.151	.136	.086	-.228	-.054	.016	.205	.354*
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR 180	.043	-.237	.161	.114	-.271	.177	.226	-.144	-.103	-.146
SELF CONCEPT	VAR 181	-.039	-.140	.194	-.014	-.016	.110	.030	-.085	-.348*	-.048
SELF ESTEEM	VAR 182	-.111	-.045	-.119	-.197	.017	.045	-.344*	-.250	-.110	.095
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR 183	-.109	-.031	.009	-.339*	.056	-.075	.144	-.281	-.119	-.327*
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR 184	.265	.112	.027	.025	.113	-.095	.059	-.012	.033	.091
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR 185	.205	.067	.008	-.084	.080	-.065	.053	-.004	.085	-.061
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR 186	.007	.111	.019	-.046	.083	-.246	-.273	-.013	-.085	-.026
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR 187	.057	-.053	-.122	-.236	-.010	.018	-.039	-.014	.099	-.199
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR 188	.199	-.026	.030	-.110	-.073	.082	-.066	.040	.051	-.179
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR 189	.017	.146	.155	-.072	.167	.006	.025	.186	.234	.111
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR 190	-.164	-.061	-.134	.041	.163	-.257	.110	.031	-.079	-.228
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR 191	.212	-.151	-.040	-.021	-.210	.225	.102	.060	-.085	-.092
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR 192	.040	.063	.213	-.131	.167	-.261	.015	.010	-.033	-.246
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR 193	.125	.275	.547**	.374*	.138	.085	.060	.079	.204	.190
STEREOTYPING	VAR 194	-.028	.020	-.189	-.252	-.104	-.128	-.013	-.139	-.092	-.043
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR 195	-.266	-.011	.121	-.080	.111	-.135	-.050	.061	.308*	-.002
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR 196	.021	-.068	.069	-.094	-.028	.040	-.026	-.091	-.034	-.163
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR 197	.330*	.136	.274	.185	-.060	.148	-.002	.055	.075	.267
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR 198	.602**	.358*	.559**	.577**	.202	.241	.285	.197	.226	.432**
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR 199	1.000	.521**	.436**	.560**	.203	.215	.261	.065	.122	.393*
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR 200	.521**	1.000	.294*	.290	.577**	-.165	.080	-.092	-.022	.313
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR 201	.436**	.294*	1.000	.406**	.241	.245	.149	.178	.314*	.412**
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR 202	.560**	.290	.406**	1.000	.165	.246	.331*	.212	.129	.325*
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR 203	.203	.577**	.241	.165	1.000	-.225	-.022	-.006	.025	.208
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR 204	.215	-.165	.245	.246	-.225	1.000	.342*	.458**	.462**	.031
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR 205	.261	.080	.149	.331*	-.022	.342*	1.000	.424**	.262	-.219
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR 206	.065	-.092	.178	.212	-.006	.458**	.424**	1.000	.621**	.168
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR 207	.122	-.022	.314*	.129	.025	.462**	.262	.621**	1.000	.216
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR 208	.393*	.313	.412**	.325*	.208	.031	-.219	.168	.216	1.000
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR 209	.415	.892**	.645	.181	.184	.077	.403	-.222	-.055	0.
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR 210	-.153	-.250	-.193	-.242	-.323*	.012	-.040	-.199	-.281	-.173
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR 211	-.016	-.051	-.077	-.110	-.035	-.030	-.081	-.223	.029	-.001
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR 212	.087	-.030	-.032	.080	-.017	.111	-.174	-.295	.039	.058
BIRTH DATE	VAR 213	.189	.277	.145	.364*	.197	-.158	.045	-.136	-.242	.253
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR 214	-.168	-.209	-.005	-.250	-.216	.156	-.140	.080	.290	-.032
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR 215	-.085	.169	-.094	-.292	-.129	-.063	.021	-.166	-.213	-.043
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR 216	.447	.166	.026	.077	.292	.140	.174	.087	-.306	-.068
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR 217	.037	-.005	.085	-.124	-.020	.070	-.163	-.319*	-.143	.179
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR 218	.198	.060	.050	.117	-.030	.199	-.058	-.340*	-.256	-.012

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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208
DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN	VAR	219	.160	.389*	.125	-.024	.428*	-.191	-.194	-.355	-.111	.212
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	220	.339	.267	-.216	.220	.146	.112	.178	.068	.096	-.077
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	221	-.258	.099	-.284	-.227	-.011	.084	.152	.144	-.199	-.170
FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR	222	.344	-.142	.295	-.184	.162	.467	-.249	.507	.207	.328
MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR	223	-.013	-.295	-.129	-.037	-.130	-.116	-.089	.190	.392	.086
FC NEG JOB SES	VAR	224	.218	.250	.268	.285	.234	.176	.099	.143	.035	.054
FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR	225	.061	-.154	.153	-.114	-.022	.092	.149	.008	.220	-.056
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT	VAR	226	-.070	.010	.102	-.015	.081	.023	.257	.040	.270	.090
STONED SEX	VAR	227	-.202	-.178	-.107	-.361*	.030	.058	.142	.017	.164	-.284
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	228	.244	.437*	.166	.249	.245	.240	.010	.321	.233	.219
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH	VAR	229	.102	-.018	.187	.101	.144	.006	-.043	-.013	-.283	.135
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS	VAR	230	.220	-.050	.036	-.064	-.124	-.156	.198	-.021	-.043	-.176
INTROSPECTIVENESS	VAR	231	-.035	-.199	-.045	-.130	-.026	-.168	-.054	.059	-.054	-.062
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL	VAR	232	.385**	.155	.259	.141	-.004	.206	-.039	.067	.050	.214
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR	233	-.065	.015	-.024	-.001	-.129	.181	-.202	.068	.268	.148
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR	234	-.061	.034	-.006	.005	-.135	.180	-.194	.061	.270	.140
U FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR	235	.073	-.129	.159	-.104	-.016	.080	.101	-.018	.188	-.029
U FC NEG JOB SES	VAR	236	.187	.280	.172	.211	.229	.177	.116	.146	.024	.026
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR	237	-.012	-.352	-.083	.057	-.216	-.033	.079	.219	.378	.079
U FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR	238	.450	-.112	.678*	-.051	.128	.581*	-.142	.707**	.243	.617*
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	239	-.260	.065	-.202	-.188	.017	.143	.086	.168	-.089	-.113
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	240	.412	.348	-.237	.193	.239	.074	.172	-.016	.089	-.056
U FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	241	.185	.264	.038	.164	.058	.028	-.032	.027	.125	.177
U FC FIRST JOB SES	VAR	242	.170	.028	.162	.150	.099	.184	.178	.191	.258	.202
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES	VAR	243	.297	.066	-.033	.219	.127	-.020	.028	-.119	-.440	-.140
U FATHERS OCCUP SES	VAR	244	-.014	.084	.005	-.201	-.217	.098	.215	-.047	-.070	-.154

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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR 119	.558	-.321*	-.109	-.065	-.001	.063	-.164	.172	-.066	-.026
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR 120	.683	-.338*	-.084	-.037	.095	-.017	-.131	.272	.013	.090
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR 121	.254	-.206	-.103	-.080	-.093	.120	-.115	-.022	-.120	-.149
FAMILY SIZE	VAR 122	-.316	.233	.805**	.220	-.044	.049	.143	-.017	.444**	.190
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR 123	.367	.059	-.112	-.040	.132	-.175	.016	-.100	-.043	-.173
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR 124	.224	.060	-.195	-.050	-.040	.034	-.158	.089	.288*	.484**
ADC ASSISTED	VAR 125	-.302	.266*	.017	-.201	-.147	.046	.092	.083	.030	.114
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR 126	.222	-.074	.039	.003	.152	-.234	.051	.200	-.133	.080
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR 127	0.	.040	.248	.196	-.669**	.712**	.010	.069	.166	-.064
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR 128	.778	.241	.079	-.130	.117	-.138	.743**	.249	-.083	-.205
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR 129	0.	.130	-.186	-.354	.299	-.190	.411	.749**	.247	-.107
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR 130	0.	-.157	-.416**	.268*	-.148	.204	-.039	-.168	-.041	-.055
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR 131	.241	.126	.021	.034	.165	-.213	-.000	.038	.179	.420**
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR 132	.302	.110	.226	.102	-.045	.064	-.145	-.059	.164	.408**
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR 133	0.	.179	.392**	.321*	-.069	.059	-.200	-.216	.448**	.551**
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR 134	.225	.137	.212	.384**	.105	-.050	.060	-.316	.021	.097
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR 135	0.	.203	-.009	.020	.091	-.126	-.013	-.028	.051	.374*
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR 136	.433	-.136	.568**	.287	-.185	.261	-.348	.271	.380*	.065
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR 137	.452	-.128	-.338**	-.192	.308*	-.272*	-.040	-.244	-.383**	-.036
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR 138	-.169	-.031	-.110	-.089	-.086	.101	-.010	-.092	-.193	.032
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR 139	-.192	.172	.308*	.013	-.128	.048	.168	.309	-.068	-.134
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR 140	-.816	.046	-.186	-.351*	.010	.022	.492**	.244	-.009	-.244
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 141	.619	-.050	-.031	.072	.109	.040	-.116	.092	.007	.077
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 142	.301	.049	-.090	-.004	.031	.088	-.153	.054	-.028	.118
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 143	-.624	-.113	.091	-.069	.192	-.202	.028	.031	.084	.170
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 144	-.603	-.029	.070	-.106	.136	-.116	.109	.170	.021	.157
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR 145	0.	-.077	.050	-.024	.092	-.099	-.055	-.568	-.042	.012
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR 146	0.	-.117	.052	-.157	-.020	-.017	.368	-.073	.130	.064
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR 147	0.	.289	-.078	.047	.131	-.168	.402	.328	.173	.052
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR 148	-.959*	.285	-.022	-.047	.090	-.138	-.076	.111	.035	.266
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR 149	.696	-.231	-.029	-.079	.113	-.157	-.091	.244	.043	-.034
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 150	-.533	.168	.129	-.224	.053	.003	-.040	-.039	.176	-.195
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 151	-.587	.226	.276	.076	.164	-.095	.459**	.274	-.077	-.081
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR 152	0.	.124	-.039	-.045	-.019	.044	.209	.300	.135	-.081
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR 153	.548	-.183	-.153	.057	.060	.036	-.330*	-.069	.002	.097
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR 154	0.	-.104	.192	.107	.266	-.098	-.210	-.126	-.008	.161
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR 155	-.307	.013	-.040	-.116	.025	-.035	-.182	.032	.138	-.085
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR 156	.187	-.094	-.131	.115	.148	-.131	.030	.220	.167	-.062
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR 157	.678	.032	-.146	.001	.046	.012	-.015	.213	-.101	-.194
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR 158	.492	-.084	-.195	.031	.315*	-.300*	-.224	-.114	-.172	-.112
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR 159	-.075	-.050	-.009	.152	.227	-.238	-.178	-.166	.005	.021
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR 160	-.307	-.148	-.133	-.184	.070	-.009	-.100	-.061	.015	-.009
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR 161	.228	-.156	-.172	-.106	.308	-.240	-.122	.101	-.249	-.236
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 162	.387	-.454**	-.165	-.041	-.041	-.085	-.215	-.071	-.394*	-.287
REPEAT GRADE	VAR 163	-.564	.152	-.051	-.027	.037	.015	.003	.406*	.191	.013
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR 164	0.	.150	.181	.141	-.528**	.639**	.263	.000	.243	.017
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR 165	-.301	.087	.273*	.101	-.094	.083	.103	-.016	-.001	-.033
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR 166	.168	.298*	-.089	.056	-.190	.160	.188	.127	.076	-.022
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR 167	.225	.288*	-.157	.023	.048	-.013	.167	.081	-.046	.105
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR 168	-.539	.144	.132	.143	-.160	.099	.059	.053	.165	-.043

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218
FIGHTING	VAR	169	-.717	.085	-.107	-.132	.182	-.235	.035	-.165	-.089	.012
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	-.478	.249	.073	.074	-.177	.108	.138	.108	.159	-.042
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	-.680	.151	.104	.046	-.105	.036	.097	.071	.185	-.046
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.653	-.301	-.096	-.201	.030	-.102	-.216	-.185	-.150	-.170
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	-.146	.201	-.016	-.067	.009	.032	-.184	-.041	-.050	.098
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	-.452	-.038	-.032	-.167	.110	-.145	-.103	-.100	.033	.140
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	.185	-.220	-.003	-.043	.081	-.111	.030	-.398	-.017	-.006
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	-.602	-.094	.164	.251	.110	-.127	.003	-.431*	-.122	-.139
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	-.262	.164	-.045	-.174	-.027	-.043	.108	.038	.150	.149
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	-.600	-.068	.167	.168	.130	-.200	.098	-.548*	-.162	-.082
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	-.302	-.186	.116	.266	.235	-.187	.078	-.377	-.259	-.217
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	.136	.211	-.113	-.032	-.078	.090	.113	.305	.008	.287*
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	-.426	.208	-.013	-.178	-.078	.012	.014	.267	.160	.207
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	-.543	.173	.224	.172	-.257*	.183	-.026	-.095	.287*	.164
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	.199	.126	.140	-.154	-.043	-.009	.070	.033	.094	.124
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	.564	-.251	-.189	-.044	-.030	.099	-.116	.176	-.069	-.020
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	.783*	-.196	-.136	.129	-.116	.166	-.066	.040	-.206	-.087
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	.446	-.181	.119	.171	.137	-.018	-.166	.018	-.187	-.156
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	.674	-.039	.021	.211	-.145	.177	.096	.049	-.170	-.098
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	-.408	.152	.139	.097	-.087	.093	.083	.197	-.112	-.170
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	.650	-.210	-.123	.016	.344**	-.304*	.136	-.112	-.171	-.248
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	-.752	-.073	.043	-.216	-.107	-.032	-.259	.113	-.007	-.128
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	-.608	.219	.140	.014	.075	-.159	.048	.222	-.071	.160
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	.318	-.149	-.148	-.049	-.074	.055	-.185	-.068	-.161	-.295*
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	.079	-.098	-.002	.050	-.159	.218	-.230	-.093	.083	-.005
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	-.114	.118	-.006	-.142	-.211	.122	.245	-.197	.073	-.024
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	.292	-.231	.113	-.025	.099	-.060	-.032	-.132	-.141	-.169
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	.160	.137	.118	-.097	-.252	.191	.165	.195	.065	-.014
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	-.192	.124	.119	-.002	-.346**	.316*	-.140	-.027	.279*	.188
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	.513	-.150	-.230	-.178	-.068	.128	-.141	.171	.035	.074
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	.415	-.153	-.016	.087	.189	-.168	-.085	.447	.037	.198
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	.892**	-.250	-.051	-.030	.277	-.209	.169	.166	-.005	.060
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	.645	-.193	-.077	-.032	.145	-.005	-.094	.026	.085	.050
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	.181	-.242	-.110	.080	.364*	-.250	-.292	.077	-.124	.117
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.184	-.323*	-.035	-.017	.197	-.216	-.129	.292	-.020	-.030
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	.077	.012	-.030	.111	-.158	.156	-.063	.140	.070	.199
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	.403	-.040	-.081	-.174	.045	-.140	.021	.174	-.163	-.058
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	-.222	-.199	-.223	-.295	-.136	.080	-.166	.087	-.319*	-.340*
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	-.055	-.281	.029	.039	-.242	.290	-.213	-.306	-.143	-.256
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	0.	-.173	-.001	.058	.253	-.032	-.043	-.068	.179	-.012
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	1.000	-.357	-.425	.165	.731	-.325	0.	0.	-.201	-.027
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	-.357	1.000	.256*	.154	-.092	.105	.263	.211	.182	.030
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	-.425	.256*	1.000	.404**	-.206	.174	.002	-.145	.355**	.213
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	.165	.154	.404**	1.000	-.090	.164	-.112	-.407	.059	.147
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	.731	-.092	-.206	-.090	1.000	-.908**	.144	.100	-.240	-.010
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	-.325	.105	.174	.164	-.908**	1.000	-.090	-.080	.234	-.040
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	0.	.263	.002	-.112	.144	-.090	1.000	.566**	-.070	-.157
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	0.	.211	-.145	-.407	.100	-.080	.566**	1.000	.113	-.142
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	-.201	.182	.355**	.059	-.240	.234	-.070	.113	1.000	.494**
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	-.027	.030	.213	.147	-.010	-.040	-.157	-.142	.494**	1.000

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                                                      CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION        VAR  NO.      209       210       211       212       213       214       215       216       217       218

DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN        VAR  219      .548      .015      .245      .049      .051     -.003     -.221      .443      .497**    .097
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES    VAR  220     0.        -.004      .122      .095     -.199      .145     -.213     -.591      .037      .022
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES    VAR  221     0.        -.053     -.179     -.198     -.108      .066      .465*    0.         .026      .003
FATHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  222     0.         .177      .014      .284     -.060     -.154     -.063     -.149     -.193      .047
MOTHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  223     -.939      .167      .215      .161     -.069     -.077     -.116     -.088     -.023      .217
FC NEG JOB SES              VAR  224      .488     -.202     -.126     -.034      .074     -.110     -.143      .234      .178     -.014
FC IDEAL JOB SES            VAR  225     -.772*     .362**    .080     -.113     -.012      .038     -.035      .067      .090     -.133
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT    VAR  226     -.199     -.059      .141      .056      .082      .010      .041     -.133      .003     -.293*
STONED SEX                  VAR  227     -.581      .080      .288*     .002     -.169      .116      .058      .282      .237     -.052
JUNE 69 GRADES              VAR  228      .637     -.328     -.108     -.251      .105     -.193     -.244     -.028     -.090     -.161
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH    VAR  229     0.         .014     -.085     -.010      .193     -.187     -.170      .115     -.072      .063
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS        VAR  230      .466      .044     -.025     -.108      .110     -.148      .125      .255      .103      .061
INTROSPECTIVENESS           VAR  231     -.478     -.076      .061     -.087      .108     -.065     -.157      .533**   -.079     -.174
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL     VAR  232     -.523      .209     -.067     -.049     -.237      .272*     .034      .354      .172      .071
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC      VAR  233     -.716      .228      .265      .075      .175     -.112      .465**    .314     -.084     -.087
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC    VAR  234     -.587      .226      .276      .076      .164     -.095      .459**    .274     -.077     -.081
U FC IDEAL JOB SES          VAR  235     -.810*     .380**    .097     -.081      .028      .009      .013      .053      .111     -.178
U FC NEG JOB SES            VAR  236      .610     -.249     -.126     -.066      .081     -.129     -.113      .178      .146      .026
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES        VAR  237     -.978*     .316      .112      .016     -.013     -.078     -.239     -.101      .008      .259
U FATHER NEG JOB SES        VAR  238     0.         .444     -.099      .071     -.034     -.065      .140      .151      .047     -.130
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  239     0.        -.052     -.087     -.218     -.066      .008      .380     0.         .137      .109
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  240     0.        -.029      .108      .064     -.197      .135     -.113     -.481      .099      .032
U FC SECOND JOB SES         VAR  241     -.603     -.024      .070     -.100      .137     -.116      .105      .172      .017      .155
U FC FIRST JOB SES          VAR  242      .301      .049     -.090     -.004      .031      .088     -.153      .054     -.028      .118
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES         VAR  243     0.         .243     -.141     -.271      .113     -.077      .350      .930**    .124     -.104
U FATHERS OCCUP SES         VAR  244     0.         .226      .006     -.147      .108     -.092      .946**    .575**   -.106     -.220
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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR 119	.033	.292	-.137	.344	.009	.275	.042	.143	-.097	.406*
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR 120	.228	.383	-.189	.226	-.097	.306*	-.053	.050	-.194	.404*
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR 121	-.176	.078	.005	.373	.103	.157	.131	.213	.034	.331
FAMILY SIZE	VAR 122	.526**	.206	-.060	-.520*	.012	-.009	.168	.154	.314*	-.036
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR 123	-.123	.202	-.130	.275	-.008	.031	.383**	.091	-.100	.097
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR 124	-.147	.191	-.061	.046	-.393*	.065	.021	-.180	-.071	-.014
ADC ASSISTED	VAR 125	-.004	.031	.097	.171	.059	-.074	.232	.126	-.041	.131
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR 126	-.042	.277	.436	.734**	.198	.237	-.010	-.005	-.100	.437*
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR 127	-.054	.318	.103	.276	.058	-.051	.036	.081	.081	.082
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR 128	-.250	-.114	.271	-.010	.033	.033	-.035	.050	.086	-.053
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR 129	.413	-.691*	.031	.035	.075	.348	-.086	-.010	.047	.091
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR 130	-.123	-.094	.003	.114	-.094	.142	-.138	-.018	-.198	.122
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR 131	.285	-.058	.172	.326	.262	.131	-.269*	-.345**	-.012	.082
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR 132	-.128	.060	-.095	.415	.219	-.085	-.052	-.247	-.087	-.051
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR 133	-.072	.143	.106	-.066	.154	.038	-.033	-.083	-.034	-.044
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR 134	0.	.305	-.010	-.252	-.097	-.001	-.163	-.133	-.110	-.053
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR 135	.030	-.054	.272	.337	.311	.089	.038	-.099	-.141	-.085
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR 136	.572**	-.098	-.561	-.415	.244	.280	.034	.230	-.136	.194
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR 137	-.283	.164	.259	-.381	-.056	-.062	.057	-.093	-.215	.160
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR 138	-.273	-.152	.027	.170	.248	-.100	.209	.068	-.253	.303
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR 139	.011	-.039	-.186	.330	-.056	-.066	-.008	.077	.130	.114
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR 140	.044	-.505*	-.135	.116	-.149	-.085	.039	.264	-.007	-.219
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 141	.200	.124	-.312	.314	.090	-.072	.166	-.076	.065	-.098
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 142	-.074	.225	-.285	.145	.066	-.166	.255	-.095	.058	-.292
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 143	.025	.418*	-.025	.038	.132	-.043	-.196	-.262	-.031	-.253
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 144	-.026	.407*	-.040	.157	.095	-.196	-.003	-.165	.106	-.384*
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR 145	.056	.848**	.535*	-.252	-.037	-.002	.062	-.049	-.024	.531*
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR 146	-.196	.409	.792**	-.081	.173	.222	-.082	.081	.112	.347
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR 147	-.154	-.551	-.060	.712**	.486	.195	-.066	.084	-.258	-.337
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR 148	.208	-.108	.243	.460	.776**	-.213	-.067	-.096	-.200	-.090
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR 149	.465*	-.059	-.029	-.022	-.320	.896**	-.225	-.018	-.013	.417*
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 150	.348	.003	-.151	.137	.015	-.208	.648**	.186	.005	-.092
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 151	.077	-.303	-.216	-.047	.028	-.173	.001	.073	.120	-.194
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR 152	-.035	-.465*	-.205	.141	.155	-.205	-.017	-.104	.089	-.151
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR 153	.288	.189	-.233	-.079	-.095	-.086	-.018	-.180	.086	-.077
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR 154	.211	-.160	-.741**	-.348	-.070	-.297	.094	.100	.084	-.168
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR 155	-.021	-.055	.173	-.032	-.066	.029	-.097	-.346**	-.123	.302
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR 156	.480*	.087	.232	-.221	.061	.234	-.196	-.370*	-.147	.134
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR 157	-.076	.513**	.219	.369	.152	-.042	-.264	-.330*	.080	.160
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR 158	-.174	.083	-.025	.306	.164	.129	.120	-.117	-.218	.137
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR 159	.050	-.251	-.248	.089	-.012	.019	.334*	.204	-.196	.033
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR 160	-.469*	0.	-.041	.332	.018	.117	.045	.171	-.348**	.232
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR 161	-.121	.059	.088	.318	.017	.107	-.047	-.072	.094	.180
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 162	-.299	.357	.235	.047	-.190	.274	-.003	.092	-.057	.831**
REPEAT GRADE	VAR 163	.134	.374*	.062	-.029	.045	-.007	.243	.072	-.055	-.116
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR 164	-.320	.139	.233	-.178	-.198	-.243	-.071	-.109	-.225	.041
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR 165	.196	-.166	-.023	-.525*	-.007	-.157	-.084	-.045	.247	-.643**
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR 166	.209	-.105	.045	-.333	-.150	-.192	.117	-.071	.168	-.410*
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR 167	-.015	.210	.209	-.386	-.257	-.184	.128	-.049	.205	-.274
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR 168	.179	-.067	.043	-.172	-.173	.005	.079	.088	.533**	-.499**

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228
FIGHTING	VAR 169	-.149	-.220	-.106	.027	.180	-.322*	.173	.089	.231	-.493**
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR 170	.204	-.090	.075	-.315	-.151	-.157	.145	.045	.628**	-.639**
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR 171	.158	-.059	.064	-.321	-.134	-.083	.149	.101	.728**	-.554**
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR 172	-.084	.330	.074	.238	-.097	.371*	.044	.104	-.294	.954**
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR 173	.186	-.346	-.054	.007	.277	-.019	.059	-.056	-.168	.058
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR 174	-.117	-.192	-.151	-.381	-.005	-.179	-.054	-.037	.232	-.190
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR 175	-.015	-.242	-.013	.184	-.059	.113	.024	.090	-.086	.260
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR 176	-.115	.253	-.153	.440	.157	-.178	-.084	.040	-.139	.330
INITIATOR OF REACTOR	VAR 177	.018	.203	.017	.108	.005	-.094	.065	-.007	.015	-.175
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR 178	-.273	.452*	.113	.551*	.183	-.301	-.109	-.005	-.202	.448*
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR 179	-.283	.376	-.193	.227	-.027	-.304*	0.	.124	-.140	.268
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR 180	-.086	-.228	-.131	-.052	.205	-.112	.116	-.159	.058	-.469**
SELF CONCEPT	VAR 181	.135	-.169	-.015	.119	-.003	-.024	.042	-.039	.041	-.190
SELF ESTEEM	VAR 182	-.214	.310	-.038	.290	.045	-.147	-.085	-.127	.206	.034
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR 183	.365*	-.109	-.101	-.220	.001	-.188	.131	.035	.485**	-.442**
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR 184	.124	.352	-.028	.251	.370*	.015	.065	-.028	-.129	.297
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR 185	.041	-.009	-.259	.063	.107	-.102	.041	.064	-.121	.074
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR 186	.164	-.278	-.201	-.295	.044	-.020	-.037	.141	-.032	-.215
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR 187	.011	-.222	-.218	-.060	-.001	-.182	.061	.095	.060	-.153
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR 188	-.130	-.178	-.167	.227	-.045	-.131	.133	-.078	.219	-.054
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR 189	-.049	-.231	-.175	.202	-.179	-.047	-.099	.084	-.073	.156
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR 190	.018	.184	.066	-.401	.273	-.117	-.068	-.067	-.035	.013
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR 191	-.311	.157	-.097	.186	.066	.074	.215	-.055	-.043	.062
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR 192	-.048	.069	-.225	.003	-.124	-.071	-.034	-.180	0.	.266
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR 193	-.006	.011	-.105	-.041	.211	.015	-.108	-.057	-.028	.066
STEREOTYPING	VAR 194	-.009	-.027	.071	.245	.090	-.048	-.098	-.048	.038	-.092
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR 195	.100	-.028	.107	-.334	.007	-.051	-.084	.196	.247	-.009
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR 196	.171	-.182	-.122	-.116	.144	.134	-.082	-.227	.191	-.109
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR 197	-.031	.192	-.104	.415	.247	.145	-.025	-.268*	-.018	-.005
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR 198	-.006	.468*	-.178	.357	.079	.219	-.061	-.002	-.256	.339
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR 199	.160	.339	-.258	.344	-.013	.218	.061	-.070	-.202	.244
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR 200	.389*	.267	.099	-.142	-.295	.250	-.154	.010	-.178	.437*
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR 201	.125	-.216	-.284	.295	-.129	.268	.153	.102	-.107	.166
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR 202	-.024	.220	-.227	-.184	-.037	.285	-.114	-.015	-.361*	.249
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR 203	.428*	.146	-.011	.162	-.130	.234	-.022	.081	.030	.245
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR 204	-.191	.112	.084	.467	-.116	.176	.092	.023	.058	.240
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR 205	-.194	.178	.152	-.249	-.089	.099	.149	.257	.142	.010
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR 206	-.355	.068	.144	.507	.190	.143	.008	.040	.017	.321
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR 207	-.111	.096	-.199	.207	.392	.035	.220	.270	.164	.233
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR 208	.212	-.077	-.170	.328	.086	.054	-.056	.090	-.284	.219
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR 209	.548	0.	0.	0.	-.939	.488	-.772*	-.199	-.581	.637
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR 210	.015	-.004	-.053	.177	.167	-.202	.362**	-.059	.080	-.328
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR 211	.245	.122	-.179	.014	.215	-.126	.080	.141	.288*	-.108
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR 212	.049	.095	-.198	.284	.161	-.034	-.113	.056	.002	-.251
BIRTH DATE	VAR 213	.051	-.199	-.108	-.060	-.069	.074	-.012	.082	-.169	.105
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR 214	-.003	.145	.066	-.154	-.077	-.110	.038	.010	.116	-.193
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR 215	-.221	-.213	.465*	-.063	-.116	-.143	-.035	.041	.058	-.244
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR 216	.443	-.591	0.	-.149	-.088	.234	.067	-.133	.282	-.028
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR 217	.497**	.037	.026	-.193	-.023	.178	.090	.003	.237	-.090
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR 218	.097	.022	.003	.047	.217	-.014	-.133	-.293*	-.052	-.161

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                                                      CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION        VAR  NO.      219      220      221      222      223      224      225      226      227      228

DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN        VAR  219    1.000    -.315    -.283    -.830*   -.011     .532**   .050    -.020     .228     .056
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES    VAR  220    -.315    1.000     .442    -.150    -.062    -.031     .091    -.109     .156     .284
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES    VAR  221    -.283     .442    1.000    -.063     .125    -.020    -.179    -.073     .200     .119
FATHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  222    -.830*   -.150    -.063    1.000     .680*    .007    -.041    -.007    -.284     .170
MOTHER NEG JOB SES          VAR  223    -.011    -.062     .125     .680*   1.000    -.290    -.037    -.093    -.057    -.124
FC NEG JOB SES              VAR  224     .532**  -.031    -.020     .007    -.290    1.000    -.118     .007    -.042     .388*
FC IDEAL JOB SES            VAR  225     .050     .091    -.179    -.041    -.037    -.118    1.000     .404**   .057    -.018
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT    VAR  226    -.020    -.109    -.073    -.007    -.093     .007     .404**  1.000     .054     .119
STONED SEX                  VAR  227     .228     .156     .200    -.284    -.057    -.042     .057     .054    1.000    -.308
JUNE 69 GRADES              VAR  228     .056     .284     .119     .170    -.124     .388*   -.018     .119    -.308    1.000
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH    VAR  229    -.036    -.230    -.100     .381    -.028    -.056     .106     .196    -.095     .138
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS        VAR  230    -.089    -.065    -.011     .136     .162    -.140    -.026    -.093    -.085     .069
INTROSPECTIVENESS           VAR  231    -.027    -.164    -.421*   -.070     .062    -.239     .001     .020     .135    -.303
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL     VAR  232     .069    -.155    -.097     .353     .303     .211     .141    -.145    -.084     .046
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC      VAR  233     .056    -.315    -.223    -.016     .056    -.193    -.001     .059     .122    -.190
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC    VAR  234     .077    -.303    -.216    -.047     .028    -.173     .001     .073     .120    -.194
U FC IDEAL JOB SES          VAR  235     .063     .070    -.175    -.025    -.082    -.117     .974**   .466**   .074    -.034
U FC NEG JOB SES            VAR  236     .529**  -.067     .049    -.045    -.274     .965**  -.202    -.018    -.052     .405*
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES        VAR  237     .011    -.029     .091     .328     .914**  -.334     .061    -.112    -.046    -.249
U FATHER NEG JOB SES        VAR  238    -.568    -.117    0.        .828**   .702**   .126    -.020    -.124    -.055     .001
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  239    -.287     .388     .944**   .103     .240     .078    -.131    -.033     .149     .154
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES     VAR  240    -.270     .967**   .540*   -.189    -.061     .026     .191    -.073     .151     .328
U FC SECOND JOB SES         VAR  241    -.054     .409*   -.024     .131     .088    -.201     .009    -.154     .104    -.386*
U FC FIRST JOB SES          VAR  242    -.074     .225    -.285     .145     .066    -.166     .255    -.095     .058    -.292
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES         VAR  243     .525    -.612*   0.       -.331    -.111     .314     .048    -.158     .108     .089
U FATHERS OCCUP SES         VAR  244    -.290    -.203     .401*   -.063    -.082    -.052     .019     .070     .089    -.074
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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR	119	.013	-.018	-.105	.308*	-.017	-.012	.022	.243	.054	.591*
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR	120	.098	-.009	-.084	.376**	-.141	-.131	-.048	.256	-.112	.420
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR	121	-.081	-.015	-.091	.126	.119	.119	.095	.157	.188	.613*
FAMILY SIZE	VAR	122	-.107	-.137	.010	-.158	.245	.260	.197	-.013	-.030	-.518*
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR	123	.254	.104	.061	-.074	-.266	-.270	.368*	-.021	.034	.481
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR	124	.243	-.038	.036	.181	-.306*	-.301*	-.007	.019	-.364*	.134
ADC ASSISTED	VAR	125	.336**	.003	-.042	.100	-.144	-.143	.225	-.069	.020	.038
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR	126	.300*	-.136	-.097	.277	.031	.027	-.014	.214	-.011	.690**
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR	127	-.242	-.094	-.123	.455**	-.142	-.137	-.006	-.075	-.050	.357
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	128	-.124	.057	-.214	-.007	.350*	.357*	.015	.041	-.112	.043
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR	129	.443*	.232	.618**	.497*	.191	.146	-.048	.253	.092	.451
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR	130	.092	-.103	-.098	.145	-.211	-.227	-.116	.138	-.242	-.056
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR	131	.046	.152	-.158	.052	-.142	-.148	-.295*	.141	.246	.219
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR	132	.102	.177	-.118	.247	-.031	-.023	-.110	-.158	.107	.293
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR	133	-.182	.061	-.082	-.037	-.104	-.104	-.051	.088	.175	-.369
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR	134	-.302*	-.040	-.136	-.138	.012	.009	-.139	-.000	-.111	-.370
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR	135	.206	.273	.164	.052	-.395*	-.397*	-.013	.101	.281	.282
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR	136	.093	.341	.192	-.036	.045	.092	.036	.228	.068	-.081
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR	137	-.111	.038	-.114	-.248	-.026	-.026	.005	-.065	.013	-.476*
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR	138	.156	0.	.047	.341**	-.139	-.141	.205	-.103	.195	.074
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR	139	.129	-.075	.058	-.176	.157	.142	-.025	-.085	-.179	.299
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR	140	-.179	-.010	.041	.125	.424*	.418*	.120	-.079	-.051	.293
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	141	-.168	.072	.071	.137	.107	.103	.114	-.076	.115	.395
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR	142	-.154	.030	.116	.123	.015	.014	.175	-.184	.189	.274
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	143	-.122	.107	.103	-.166	.378*	.395*	-.184	-.050	.257	.240
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR	144	-.259	.082	.081	-.077	.428**	.443**	-.003	-.192	.247	.284
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	145	-.209	-.017	-.266	-.286	-.258	-.247	.059	.015	-.011	-.253
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR	146	-.188	-.085	-.452*	-.048	-.099	-.084	-.075	.253	.126	-.081
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	147	.382	.158	.247	.434	.139	.106	.021	.173	.206	.751**
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR	148	-.035	.165	.066	.082	.057	.033	-.083	-.164	.839**	.451
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR	149	-.093	-.122	-.156	.120	-.113	-.092	-.227	.922**	-.345	.062
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	150	-.142	-.019	.066	.236	-.011	-.010	.683**	-.199	.099	.251
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR	151	-.224	-.022	-.178	-.203	.997**	1.000**	.058	-.202	.073	.009
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR	152	-.372*	.090	.206	-.009	.201	.181	-.034	-.140	.171	.151
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR	153	-.119	.052	.083	-.039	.025	.012	-.072	-.075	-.019	.031
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR	154	-.013	.008	.362*	.005	.340	.332	.100	-.292	.001	-.386
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR	155	-.096	-.047	.077	-.116	-.117	-.139	-.104	.060	.065	.125
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR	156	-.146	.221	.005	-.034	-.094	-.095	-.172	.209	.106	-.290
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR	157	-.259	.111	-.138	.208	.032	.031	-.302*	-.075	.171	.373
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR	158	.039	-.066	-.028	.192	-.206	-.197	.075	.125	.156	.219
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR	159	.330*	-.097	.250	-.122	-.252	-.244	.351*	.027	-.058	-.045
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR	160	.195	.137	.060	.137	-.068	-.068	.048	.071	-.029	.439
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR	161	.171	-.002	.191	-.128	.230	.224	-.064	-.004	.021	.253
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR	162	.027	.051	-.135	-.103	-.437*	-.447*	-.026	.297	-.366	-.149
REPEAT GRADE	VAR	163	-.015	-.032	.180	.408**	-.235	-.240	.246	-.040	.190	.175
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR	164	-.410*	-.036	-.403*	.261	.037	.035	-.130	-.277	-.201	-.178
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR	165	-.167	.069	.014	-.127	.363*	.372*	-.046	-.143	.037	-.430
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR	166	-.103	.113	-.185	.038	.102	.112	.140	-.195	-.064	-.377
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR	167	-.034	-.033	-.141	-.175	-.055	-.056	.132	-.155	-.124	-.372
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR	168	.031	-.166	.107	-.167	-.004	-.004	.104	-.016	-.141	-.181

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238
FIGHTING	VAR	169	.336**	-.238	.210	-.224	.162	.147	.195	-.335**	.279	.158
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	.012	-.100	.041	-.134	.097	.098	.178	-.174	-.063	-.250
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	.051	-.174	.151	-.207	.088	.084	.181	-.104	-.053	-.179
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.052	.052	-.345*	.066	-.228	-.230	.016	.385*	-.238	-.007
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	-.224	-.014	-.198	.105	.284	.287	.020	-.011	.449**	-.198
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	.152	-.062	.206	-.297*	-.055	-.066	-.066	-.143	.009	-.483*
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	-.170	-.249	-.141	-.057	.013	.007	-.016	.137	-.101	.000
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	-.234	.038	-.232	-.094	.051	.039	-.060	-.153	-.019	.153
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	.453**	.029	.289*	-.019	-.096	-.090	.106	-.109	.063	.295
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	-.076	.060	-.218	-.106	-.076	-.087	-.058	-.263	-.037	.516
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	-.241	.054	-.148	-.310*	.189	.176	.013	-.311*	-.132	-.011
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	-.004	.075	.051	.347**	-.229	-.231	.046	-.120	.344	.206
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	.636**	-.091	.368**	.059	-.134	-.135	.076	-.056	.025	.348
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	.035	-.185	.019	.176	-.124	-.126	-.063	-.145	-.056	.384
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	.086	.016	.133	-.163	.245	.256	.138	-.170	.057	-.112
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	.130	.211	.145	.294*	-.375*	-.385**	.003	-.003	.270	.150
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	.181	.273*	.159	.127	-.230	-.221	.018	-.125	.020	-.048
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	.254	-.038	.173	-.098	.070	.094	.004	-.009	.014	-.272
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	.165	.210	.152	.091	.009	.022	.097	-.188	-.096	-.131
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	.232	-.101	.226	.089	.358*	.345*	.147	-.141	-.056	.169
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	.125	.236	.170	-.108	.274	.268	-.064	-.069	-.265	.175
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	.033	.013	.294*	-.113	-.371*	-.390**	-.076	-.093	.235	-.356
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	.009	.173	.025	.242	.176	.155	.192	.053	.129	.238
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	-.004	.111	.228	.021	-.279	-.286	-.043	-.101	-.206	.055
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	-.122	-.086	-.024	.304*	-.081	-.066	-.107	-.016	.249	.201
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	-.071	.269*	-.204	.103	.081	.098	-.118	-.048	.046	.158
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	-.091	-.094	.014	-.446**	.071	.081	-.099	-.041	-.014	-.289
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	.117	-.072	-.064	.207	.044	.064	-.120	.092	.128	.023
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	-.159	.025	-.151	.766**	-.257	-.247	-.044	.101	.180	.563*
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	.023	.054	-.157	.505**	-.186	-.182	-.053	.159	.166	.638*
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	.102	.220	-.035	.385**	-.065	-.061	.073	.187	-.012	.450
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	-.018	-.050	-.199	.155	.015	.034	-.129	.280	-.352	-.112
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	.187	.036	-.045	.259	-.024	-.006	.159	.172	-.083	.678*
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	.101	-.064	-.130	.141	-.001	.005	-.104	.211	.057	-.051
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.144	-.124	-.026	-.004	-.129	-.135	-.016	.229	-.216	.128
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	.006	-.156	-.168	.206	.181	.180	.080	.177	-.033	.581*
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	-.043	.198	-.054	-.039	-.202	-.194	.101	.116	.079	-.142
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	-.013	-.021	.059	.067	.068	.061	-.018	.146	.219	.707**
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	-.283	-.043	-.054	.050	.268	.270	.188	.024	.378	.243
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	.135	-.176	-.062	.214	.148	.140	-.029	.026	.079	.617*
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	0.	.466	-.478	-.523	-.716	-.587	-.810*	.610	-.978*	0.
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	.014	.044	-.076	.209	.228	.226	.380**	-.249	.316	.444
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	-.085	-.025	.061	-.067	.265	.276	.097	-.126	.112	-.099
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	-.010	-.108	-.087	-.049	.075	.076	-.081	-.066	.016	.071
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	.193	.110	.108	-.237	.175	.164	.028	.081	-.013	-.034
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	-.187	-.148	-.065	.272*	-.112	-.095	.009	-.129	-.078	-.065
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	-.170	.125	-.157	.034	.465**	.459**	.013	-.113	-.239	.140
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	.115	.255	.533**	.354	.314	.274	.053	.178	-.101	.151
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	-.072	.103	-.079	.172	-.084	-.077	.111	.146	.008	.047
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	.063	.061	-.174	.071	-.087	-.081	-.178	.026	.259	-.130

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238
DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN	VAR 219	-.036	-.089	-.027	.069	.056	.077	.063	.529**	.011	-.568
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 220	-.230	-.065	-.164	-.155	-.315	-.303	.070	-.067	-.029	-.117
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 221	-.100	-.011	-.421*	-.097	-.223	-.216	-.175	.049	.091	0.
FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 222	.381	.136	-.070	.353	-.016	-.047	-.025	-.045	.328	.828**
MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 223	-.028	.162	.062	.303	.056	.028	-.082	-.274	.914**	.702**
FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 224	-.056	-.140	-.239	.211	-.193	-.173	-.117	.965**	-.334	.126
FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 225	.106	-.026	.001	.141	-.001	.001	.974**	-.202	.061	-.020
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESDNT	VAR 226	.196	-.093	.020	-.145	.059	.073	.466**	-.018	-.112	-.124
STONED SEX	VAR 227	-.095	-.085	.135	-.084	.122	.120	.074	-.052	-.046	-.055
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 228	.138	.069	-.303	.046	-.190	-.194	-.034	.405*	-.249	.001
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH	VAR 229	1.000	-.049	.354**	-.009	-.218	-.224	.132	-.125	-.128	.476*
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS	VAR 230	-.049	1.000	.017	.015	-.022	-.022	-.026	-.162	.128	.201
INTROSPECTIVENESS	VAR 231	.354**	.017	1.000	-.067	-.152	-.178	.017	-.224	.081	.064
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL	VAR 232	-.009	.015	-.067	1.000	-.203	-.203	.139	.160	.221	.541*
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 233	-.218	-.022	-.152	-.203	1.000	.997**	.057	-.221	.095	.031
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 234	-.224	-.022	-.178	-.203	.997**	1.000	.058	-.202	.073	.009
U FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 235	.132	-.026	.017	.139	.057	.058	1.000	-.209	.014	.011
U FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 236	-.125	-.162	-.224	.160	-.221	-.202	-.209	1.000	-.318	.012
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 237	-.128	.128	.081	.221	.095	.073	.014	-.318	1.000	.350
U FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 238	.476*	.201	.064	.541*	.031	.009	.011	.012	.350	1.000
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 239	-.101	-.059	-.416*	-.082	-.202	-.196	-.139	.143	.211	.167
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 240	-.286	-.015	-.237	-.115	-.331	-.316	.166	.006	-.039	-.152
U FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 241	-.251	.091	.084	-.085	.425**	.441**	.009	-.201	.243	.262
U FC FIRST JOB SES	VAR 242	-.154	.030	.116	.123	.015	.014	.173	-.134	.189	.274
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 243	.199	.218	.555**	.314	.168	.127	.021	.236	-.123	-.089
U FATHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 244	-.184	.146	-.197	.089	.481**	.476**	.067	-.040	-.212	.140

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CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	239	240	241	242	243	244
TOTAL IQ WAIS OR WISC	VAR 119	-.118	.283	.161	.302*	.003	-.040
VERBAL I.Q.	VAR 120	-.204	.405	.175	.185	.163	-.083
PERFORMANCE I.Q.	VAR 121	.049	.047	.079	.307*	-.226	.034
FAMILY SIZE	VAR 122	.056	.210	.103	-.178	-.023	.122
FATHERS EDUCATION	VAR 123	-.066	.222	-.055	.050	-.116	.126
MOTHERS EDUCATION	VAR 124	-.130	.138	-.038	.177	.229	-.240
ADC ASSISTED	VAR 125	.047	.094	-.140	-.013	.014	.089
SCHOOL GROUP IQ	VAR 126	.384	.250	.056	.034	.179	.069
GRADE IN SCHOOL	VAR 127	.041	.334	.085	.223	-.031	.015
FATHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR 128	.248	-.070	-.156	-.249	.158	.837**
MOTHS OCCUP PRESTIGE	VAR 129	.024	-.659*	.014	-.070	.752**	.418
MONTHLY PCI AFTER RENT	VAR 130	-.065	-.091	-.277	-.097	-.022	.020
TOTAL SUPPORT SCORE	VAR 131	.290	-.073	-.023	-.094	.099	-.004
QUALITY OF FAMILY LIFE	VAR 132	-.004	-.021	.164	.194	.053	-.151
NO OF CLOSE MALES	VAR 133	.221	.114	-.085	-.037	-.028	-.163
FATHER PRESENT OR NOT	VAR 134	-.041	.241	-.048	-.064	-.152	.000
RELATIONS WITH FATHER	VAR 135	.350	-.073	-.190	.015	.038	-.064
DAD ABSENT HOW LONG	VAR 136	-.626*	-.142	-.040	-.152	.332	-.357
FC HAS EXTENDED FAMILY	VAR 137	.236	.158	.056	.258*	-.185	-.018
PERCPT FIRST JOB CHOICE	VAR 138	-.055	-.186	-.168	-.178	.089	.093
WOULD FC WANT DADS JOB	VAR 139	-.225	-.085	-.140	-.191	.229	.117
DAD FEELS ABOUT JOB	VAR 140	-.194	-.467*	.112	-.003	-.056	.350*
FC 1ST JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 141	-.322	.170	.311*	.874**	-.124	-.182
FC FIRST JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 142	-.243	.252	.378**	1.000**	-.137	-.212
FC 2ND JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 143	.043	.387*	.830**	.179	-.119	-.015
FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 144	.039	.427*	.998**	.378**	-.061	.027
F CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR 145	.459	.868**	.353	.123	-.599	-.063
M CHOICE OF FC JOB PREST	VAR 146	.847**	.506*	.042	-.110	-.073	.360
F NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR 147	.103	-.518	.210	.113	.090	.402
M NEG FC JOB CHOICE PRES	VAR 148	.335	-.132	.102	.122	.106	-.071
FC NEG JOB CHOICE PRESTI	VAR 149	.050	-.013	-.144	-.203	.306	-.001
FFC IDEAL JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 150	-.146	.108	.117	.333*	-.257	-.064
FFATHERS JOB PRESTIGE	VAR 151	-.196	-.316	.441**	.014	.127	.476**
FC JOB PRES DIS 1F	VAR 152	-.199	-.449*	.087	.389*	.076	.190
STATUS DISC FC-FATHER	VAR 153	-.244	.194	.263	.621**	-.200	-.467**
FC JOB PRES DIS 1M	VAR 154	-.774**	-.197	.253	.575**	-.197	-.214
JOB PRES DIS IDEAL	VAR 155	.255	.032	-.033	.068	.104	-.192
COULD FC BE IDEAL	VAR 156	.360	.117	-.007	-.261	.377	.036
FC SCHOOL EXPECTS	VAR 157	.191	.447*	.309*	.133	.105	-.035
FC SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS	VAR 158	.091	.157	.200	.176	-.078	-.183
FC DISCREP ASP-EXP	VAR 159	-.151	-.174	-.054	-.028	-.052	-.159
JUNE 67 GRADES	VAR 160	.085	.049	.081	.158	.024	-.083
JUNE 68 GRADES	VAR 161	.133	.047	.235	.233	.204	-.122
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 162	.198	.406	-.398*	-.184	.015	-.013
REPEAT GRADE	VAR 163	.144	.361	.188	.226	.288	-.035
DROP OUT GRADE	VAR 164	.256	.087	.051	.143	0.	.280
DROP OR STAY IN	VAR 165	-.071	-.160	.141	-.064	-.084	.080
SCHOOL DEFIANCE	VAR 166	-.001	-.113	.030	-.078	.060	.156
SCHOOL PUNISHMENT	VAR 167	.126	.189	-.084	-.037	.019	.091
ILLEGAL ACTS WEIGHTED	VAR 168	.044	-.073	.041	-.080	-.017	.066

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR	NO.	239	240	241	242	243	244
FIGHTING	VAR	169	-.082	-.280	-.019	-.034	-.198	.050
TOTAL HOT WATER	VAR	170	.046	-.109	.056	-.073	.002	.136
NON SCHOOL HOT WATER	VAR	171	.041	-.059	.072	-.026	-.035	.111
JUNE 69 GPA	VAR	172	.098	.401	-.395*	-.257	-.066	-.012
SOURCE OF BETTER AT	VAR	173	.007	-.384*	.055	.142	.022	-.134
NO. OF BETTER AT	VAR	174	-.113	-.271	-.094	-.257*	-.001	-.122
SOURCE OF NOT GOOD AT	VAR	175	.011	-.123	-.063	.206	-.402	.000
CAN OR CANNOT CHANGE	VAR	176	-.210	.212	.015	.021	-.435*	-.026
INITIATOR OR REACTOR	VAR	177	.003	.182	.084	.026	-.015	.127
REACT CAN OR REACT CANNO	VAR	178	-.030	.417	-.012	-.013	-.533*	.080
CAN PRAC OR CANT NATURAL	VAR	179	-.291	.363	.153	.204	-.387	.039
RACE OF FAMOUS MODEL	VAR	180	-.128	-.197	-.081	.169	.257	.123
SELF CONCEPT	VAR	181	.038	-.210	-.099	-.143	.282	.015
SELF ESTEEM	VAR	182	.061	.259	.131	-.120	-.033	-.018
STRATEGIC STYLE	VAR	183	-.113	-.093	.258	.112	-.166	.085
AV. CHANGE PEERS + SIBS	VAR	184	-.101	.419*	-.151	.233	.127	-.149
AV. CHANGE ALL REF FIGS	VAR	185	-.406*	-.007	-.151	.139	-.043	-.100
FC WANTS PARENTS CHANGES	VAR	186	-.215	-.257	-.016	-.239	.010	-.163
AV CHANGE PARENTS WANT	VAR	187	-.392*	-.222	-.132	-.054	-.067	.071
MILITANT RACIAL IDENTITY	VAR	188	-.149	-.172	-.056	-.111	.168	.152
TAKE PILL YES-NO	VAR	189	-.211	-.315	.002	.048	-.187	.148
PUSH BUTTON YES-NO	VAR	190	.013	.179	-.175	-.195	.216	-.255
WHAT RACE PREFERRED	VAR	191	-.077	.193	.088	.060	.230	.093
PERCIEVED SKIN SHADE	VAR	192	-.304	.048	-.168	.074	.001	-.120
MOVE IN W WORLD RAW SCOR	VAR	193	-.082	.023	.199	.128	-.132	-.201
STEREOTYPING	VAR	194	.167	.001	.144	.086	-.301	.253
SYSTEM CLOSED OR OPEN	VAR	195	.129	-.053	.059	.065	-.187	-.067
COMBINED RACE IDENTITY	VAR	196	-.087	-.180	-.144	-.099	.188	.240
KNOWLG OF GRPS AND LDRS	VAR	197	-.143	.175	.071	.052	-.034	-.061
VERBAL 1 INFORMATION	VAR	198	-.198	.450	.084	.155	.116	-.009
VERBAL 2 COMPREHENSION	VAR	199	-.260	.412	.185	.170	.297	-.014
VERBAL 3 ARITHMETIC	VAR	200	.065	.348	.264	.028	.066	.084
VERBAL 4 SIMILARITIES	VAR	201	-.202	-.237	.038	.162	-.033	.005
VERBAL5 VOCABULARY	VAR	202	-.188	.193	.164	.150	.219	-.201
VERBAL 6 DIGIT SPAN	VAR	203	.017	.239	.058	.099	.127	-.217
PREFORMANCE 1 PICOMP	VAR	204	.143	.074	.028	.184	-.020	.098
PREFORMANCE 2 PICTAR	VAR	205	.086	.172	-.032	.178	.028	.215
PREFORMANCE 3 BLOCK	VAR	206	.168	-.016	.027	.191	-.119	-.047
PREFORMANCE 4 OBJAS	VAR	207	-.089	.089	.125	.258	-.440	-.070
PREFORMANCE 5 CODING	VAR	208	-.113	-.056	.177	.202	-.140	-.154
PERFORMANCE 6 DIGSYM	VAR	209	0.	0.	-.603	.301	0.	0.
POSITION IN FAMILY	VAR	210	-.052	-.029	-.024	.049	.243	.226
NO. OF SIBLINGS	VAR	211	-.087	.108	.070	-.090	-.141	.006
FAMILY WEEKLY INCOME	VAR	212	-.218	.064	-.100	-.004	-.271	-.147
BIRTH DATE	VAR	213	-.066	-.197	.137	.031	.113	.108
AGE AT INTERVIEW	VAR	214	.008	.135	-.116	.088	-.077	-.092
FATHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	215	.380	-.113	.105	-.153	.350	.946**
MOTHERS OCCUPATION SES	VAR	216	0.	-.481	.172	.054	.930**	.575**
MALE MODEL AVAILABLE	VAR	217	.137	.099	.017	-.028	.124	-.106
NO. OF MALES CHOSEN	VAR	218	.109	.032	.155	.118	-.104	-.220

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

VARIABLE DESCRIPTION	VAR NO.	239	240	241	242	243	244
DAD OUT FC HOW OFTEN	VAR 219	-.287	-.270	-.054	-.074	.525	-.290
FATHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 220	.388	.967**	.409*	.225	-.612*	-.203
MOTHER FC JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 221	.944**	.540*	-.024	-.285	0.	.401*
FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 222	.103	-.189	.131	.145	-.331	-.063
MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 223	.240	-.061	.088	.066	-.111	-.082
FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 224	.078	.026	-.201	-.166	.314	-.052
FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 225	-.131	.191	.009	.255	.048	.019
MILLIONAIRE WISE PRESONT	VAR 226	-.033	-.073	-.154	-.095	-.158	.070
STONED SEX	VAR 227	.149	.151	.104	.058	.108	.089
JUNE 69 GRADES	VAR 228	.154	.328	-.386*	-.292	.089	-.074
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN OTH	VAR 229	-.101	-.286	-.251	-.154	.199	-.184
HABITS VERSUS TRAITS	VAR 230	-.059	-.015	.091	.030	.218	.146
INTROSPECTIVENESS	VAR 231	-.416*	-.237	.084	.116	.555**	-.197
GRAND TOTAL NEGRO KNOWL	VAR 232	-.082	-.115	-.085	.123	.314	.089
FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 233	-.202	-.331	.425**	.015	.168	.481**
U FATHERS JOB SES FRM FC	VAR 234	-.196	-.316	.441**	.014	.127	.476**
U FC IDEAL JOB SES	VAR 235	-.139	.166	.009	.173	.021	.067
U FC NEG JOB SES	VAR 236	.143	.006	-.201	-.184	.236	-.040
U MOTHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 237	.211	-.039	.243	.189	-.123	-.212
U FATHER NEG JOB SES	VAR 238	.167	-.152	.262	.274	-.089	.140
U MOTHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 239	1.000	.498*	.056	-.243	0.	.343
U FATHER JOB CHOICE SES	VAR 240	.498*	1.000	.429*	.252	-.518	-.109
U FC SECOND JOB SES	VAR 241	.056	.429*	1.000	.378**	-.051	.029
U FC FIRST JOB SES	VAR 242	-.243	.252	.378**	1.000	-.137	-.212
U MOTHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 243	0.	-.518	-.051	-.137	1.000	.384
U FATHERS OCCUP SES	VAR 244	.343	-.109	.029	-.212	.384	1.000